

MOVEMENT FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE



CONDITIONS FOR A SUSTAINABLE ELECTION IN ZIMBABWE

(CoSEZ)

Conditions for a Sustainable Election in Zimbabwe (CoSEZ)

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44 Nelson Mandela Avenue

Harare

www.mdc.co.zw

Tel: +263 4 793 250

Fax: +263 4 780 303

FOREWORD

Zimbabwe has been in a permanent state of crisis for many decades. This crisis reached its crescendo in the last two decades where we saw our economy collapse in absolute terms and our Human Development Index (HDI) retrogress. At the epicentre of the crisis is Zimbabwe's unstable political environment characterised by violence, coercion, intolerance, slander and malice.

Unstable political environments are often-times products of unsustainable democratic delivery and unsustainable electoral systems.

In that regard, the MDC reiterates that before elections are conducted in Zimbabwe, certain minimum conditions must be met to ensure that the outcome of that election is not a contested one. Let me say that our region has seen various electoral processes being undertaken in countries such as Zambia, Botswana and South Africa, and that these elections have been held under conditions of relative peace and tranquillity, resulting in peaceful and democratic change of power. Zimbabwe has no reason to defy regional trends and it is important that the next election does not result in any loss of life or limb.

As we launch the MDC's **Conditions for a Sustainable Election in Zimbabwe (CoSEZ)**, I want to say that all of the conditions that are highlighted in this document are not a creation of the MDC. They are derived from internationally agreed principles of the conduct of democratic elections. They reflect SADC's commitment to legitimate electoral processes. They are enshrined in the constitution of Zimbabwe. Political parties signed up to them in the GPA. They are products of regional engagement. More importantly, they are legitimate demands by the people of Zimbabwe.

I urge all Zimbabweans, including political parties, to critically reflect on these conditions and make a pledge that the next election in Zimbabwe should usher in a legitimate government that can get on with the job of building this beautiful country.

God Bless you. God Bless Zimbabwe.

RIGHT HON. MORGAN R. TSVANGIRAI
MDC PRESIDENT

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CHAPTER ONE: TOWARDS A SUSTAINABLE ZIMBABWE

1.1 Introduction

It is clear as a pikestaff that an election will be held in Zimbabwe by 31st December 2013. That being the case, it is important that Zimbabwe holds a peaceful and legitimate election whose outcome will not be contested.

Since time immemorial, virtually every election that has been held in Zimbabwe, or Rhodesia before it, has been contested, none more fractious as the 2002 Presidential Election and the June 2008 farcical run-off. The sham elections that have been reproduced periodically in Zimbabwe have created an unstable State, prone to dislocation and this has laid the basis of the current fragile and unstable State.

A huge premium has been paid as a result of Zimbabwe's unstable political landscape. Part of the price paid includes a collapsed economy, sharp decline in our human development indicators and a complete collapse of infrastructure. The net effect of all this is that Zimbabwe as a state has become a liability to its citizens and its neighbours alike.

To this extent therefore, the next election in Zimbabwe must be **sustainable**, one that is not challenged and more importantly one that creates a stable and **sustainable** Zimbabwe. That is to say, **a developmental state that is able to attend to the core demands of its people on a platform of social justice and social delivery.**

In order to create a sustainable election, certain minimum conditions must be met in Zimbabwe and they must deal with the following issues;

- a) Implementing the Global Political Agreement (GPA) and all other agreed positions including implementation of regional and international standards on democratic elections.
- b) Putting in place measures to guarantee the security and integrity of the vote.
- c) Putting in place measures to guarantee the security of the person.
- d) Putting in place measures to guarantee the security of the people's will.

Through this document the Movement for Democratic Change defines its **Conditions** for a **Sustainable Election in Zimbabwe (CoSEZ).**

1.2 Background

To underscore the importance of the next election in Zimbabwe, it is imperative to understand that the international community has become exhausted and tired of the Zimbabwean crisis. Whilst all other countries in the region are moving forward with fairly credible election processes, Zimbabwe is not. South Africa, Botswana, Namibia and Zambia have demonstrated beyond doubt that a sustainable electoral process is possible in the SADC region.

On the 29th of March 2007 an Extra Ordinary Summit of the SADC Heads of State and Government was held in Dar el Salaam, Tanzania. This Summit acknowledged the existence of a crisis in Zimbabwe and mandated President Mbeki to facilitate dialogue between the major political parties in Zimbabwe with a view to **levelling the political playing field** and **creating conditions for an uncontested election**.

Pursuant to this, the parties proceeded to negotiate the Global Political Agreement (GPA) which was signed on the 15th of September 2008. The same, including the Kariba Draft Constitution and various agreed amendments to different pieces of legislation were a first step in creating the level playing field.

In August of 2010, SADC Heads of State and Government met in Windhoek, Namibia and resolved among other things that ***“the Inclusive Government and the Zimbabwe political parties should find an uninterrupted path towards free and fair elections and the removal of impediments as and when they arise”***.

The position of the Windhoek Summit is an acknowledgement that the Global Political Agreement was an important but not sufficient matrix in finding ***“an uninterrupted path towards free and fair elections.”***

At its Extraordinary summit in Livingstone held on the 31th March 2011, the SADC Organ Troika noted with grave concern the polarisation of the political environment in Zimbabwe as characterised inter alia by the resurgence of violence and intimidation. The Organ Troika resolved to appoint a team of three officials to work with JOMIC in ensuring the effective monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of the GPA.

The same resolutions were adopted at the SADC Summits held in Johannesburg, Sandton and Luanda on the 12th of June 2011 and 15th of August 2011 respectively. At all these summits, the importance of following a credible roadmap was reiterated and underscored.

CHAPTER TWO: THE OBLIGATION TO IMPLEMENT

2.1 Implementing the GPA and all other agreed positions

2.1.1 Cognisant of the fact that the GPA was an attempt to create a more even and equal political playing field, it is critical that all parties restate their commitment to the same.

But more importantly, that all parties in fact implement the same in its entirety.



2.1.2 To date, it is

self-evident that the GPA has been partially implemented and serious gaps remain in the majority of the obligations. Key unimplemented areas include neutrality of State institutions, the land audit, media reform, and respect of the rule of law, to name a few.

2.1.3 Clearly, one of the weaknesses of the GPA is the weak monitoring mechanism. JOMIC is not a statutory body and in the absence of statutory powers all it has is a residue of moral legitimacy. At the same time, whilst the Facilitator, SADC and the African Union are guarantors to the agreement, they do not have a monitoring mechanism on the ground.

2.1.4 In our view therefore, JOMIC needs to be strengthened whilst the external guarantors need to be on the ground monitoring. There can be no effective guarantee without a monitoring mechanism.

2.2 Implementation of post-Maputo resolutions

2.2.1 Pursuant to the Maputo Organ Troika Summit of the 5th of November 2009, the parties negotiated **29 key issues**.

2.2.2 At the level of negotiators, agreement was reached on 18 out of the 29 issues. However, when the Principals met on the 8th of June 2010, agreement was reached on 24 out of the 29 issues. Not only that, an implementation matrix was in

fact crafted by the Principals, which matrix was subsequently adopted by the Cabinet of the Government of Zimbabwe.

2.2.3 It is regrettable that the agreed matrix has not been implemented. In our view, it is critically essential that the same be implemented as a matter of urgency.

2.2.4 Since the signing of the GPA and the consummation of the Inclusive Government, numerous Sadc resolutions on Zimbabwe have been crafted in order to ensure the full implementation of the provisions of the GPA. However, the actualisation of these resolutions has been slow and erratic. It is fundamental that parties implement the resolutions of SADC before any elections.

2.3 Implementing the Roadmap

2.3.1 On the 22nd of April 2011 the political parties' respective set of negotiators concluded and signed an agreed road map to the Zimbabwean elections, which identified and defined milestones and signposts that must be executed and implemented before the next harmonized elections.

2.3.2 At the Extra Ordinary Summit of Heads of State and Government held at Sandton,



Johannesburg, a resolution was made directing the negotiators to place time lines in the road map. This was done on the 6th of July 2011. For the purposes of the next election, it is critically important and a condition for a sustainable election, that the agreed Roadmap be implemented. The Roadmap defines the following, inter alia,

signposts and milestones that have to be implemented before elections are held;

- a) The conclusion of the constitution making process and the referendum.
- b) The preparation of a **Brand New Voters Roll**.
- c) Implementing key **Media Reforms**.
- d) Implementing **Legislative Reforms**.
- e) Attending to reforms pertaining to **Freedom of Association** and **Freedom of Assembly**.
- f) Fresh Delimitation of Constituencies
- g) Defining measures and procedures to do with the actual election, for instance obliging that the President and the Prime Minister to **agree on the date of the election**.

2.3.3 Not only should the above signposts of the road map be met but that the parties must conclude negotiations on those areas where agreement is yet to be reached, such as security sector reform and the appointment of new secretariat for ZEC.

2.4 Implementation of agreed positions following the review of the GPA in May of 2011

2.4.1 Between May and June of 2011 the parties met in Cape Town and Harare to review the GPA. In the process of the review the parties noted with concern many areas of non-implementation and execution and therefore agreed to fully implement the GPA and finalise the Roadmap to elections.

2.5 Implementing Regional and International Standards



2.5.1 In August of 2006 at a meeting of Heads of State and Government, SADC adopted “its guidelines to elections”. It is important that whatever framework is adopted in Zimbabwe is in compliance with those guidelines and other numerous regional and international standards.

2.5.2 Importance of implementing agreements

It is the firm view of the MDC that to create conditions for a legitimate election all the above agreements must be implemented. In the case of situations where parties have agreed and put their signatures to a document, surely the parties themselves must implement these agreed positions. In respect of resolutions made by SADC itself, the same must equally implement its resolutions.

Implementing the above is thus a necessary **Condition** for **Sustainable Elections in Zimbabwe (CoSEZ)**.

CHAPTER THREE: SECURING THE INTEGRITY OF THE VOTE

The integrity of any election is underpinned primarily by critical technical and hygiene issues that must



bind all parties. The primary technical issue in every election must be the laws that govern that election. Thus, in virtually all democratic countries the Constitution, the Electoral Act, the Media Act and other laws affect the conduct and outcome of an election. As a condition for a sustainable election in

Zimbabwe, it is therefore critical that the issue of the Constitution, Electoral Act, Media Reforms, the Voters' Roll and prohibitive pieces of legislation such as POSA and AIPPA are dealt with before the election.

Many of these issues pertaining to the security and integrity of the vote are already covered in the Roadmap that has been agreed to by the parties. However, out of an abundance of caution the MDC reiterates the minimum conditions that will guarantee a credible election in Zimbabwe.

3.1. The Constitution and the Constitution-Making Process

3.1.1 The constitution is an important document, a contract defining the processes of power,



its distribution and management thereof. For the purposes of an election, the constitution will define key issues such as the electoral system, the date and nature of the elections, who conducts them, the system of government and the manner in which office bearers to the state are elected or appointed.

3.1.2 The new Zimbabwean constitution will thus define a new system, whether; we use the proportional representation, first-past-the-post or some other electoral system. The

new constitution should address the character of the legislature, whether or not we have an upper and lower house, and the composition thereof. The new constitution will also define the nature of the executive, whether we have an executive President or not. It will also define Zimbabwe's provincial and local governance system and how officials to the same are elected or removed from office. The constitution is therefore a self-evident precondition for a sustainable election in Zimbabwe.

- 3.1.3 The constitution must thus be drafted and subjected to a referendum as defined in Article VI of the GPA. It is also important that the MDC reaffirms its position that it will NOT participate in an election before the enactment of a New constitution.

3.2. Legislative Reform

- 3.2.1 Once the new Constitution has been adopted it is evident that a reconciliation of existing laws to the new constitutional order must be done.
- 3.2.2 Furthermore, it is critically important for the parties to have a review of all legislation in Zimbabwe with a view to determining consistency with the constitution and international standards.

3.3. Oversight Commissions

- 3.3.1 The Zimbabwe Media Commission (ZMC), the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) and the Human Rights Commission (HRC) will play a critical part in establishing and creating conditions for a **sustainable election in Zimbabwe**. It is thus important for all these commissions to remain impartial, objective and practical. The partiality being reflected at the Zimbabwe Media Commission, where various licenses have subjectively been issued to ZANU (PF) related applicants is neither desirable nor acceptable.

3.4. The right to Freedom of Association, Assembly and Movement

- 3.4.1 The experience of the past few years has exposed major weaknesses in the Public Order Security and Act. The rights to freedom of association, assembly and movement continue to be seriously handicapped. There is therefore need to amend POSA but more importantly to have positive legislation that puts flesh to section 21 and 23 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe before the next election.



- 3.4.2 Human Rights Commission - the Human Rights Commission has been appointed. It is important that the Human Rights Commission Bill whose principles have been agreed

by Cabinet be enacted as soon as possible and thereafter the Commission be empowered to carry-out its mandate of oversight on human rights abuses.

3.5. Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Act

- 3.5.1 The Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Act, in particular Section 121 has been eclectically applied by the Office of the Attorney General. It is paramount that before the election, this section is repealed.

3.6. Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act

- 3.6.1 The Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act needs to be repealed as it muzzles freedom of information and freedom of the press.

3.7. Presidential Powers (Temporary Measures) Act

- 3.7.1 This is a key law that has been clandestinely used repeatedly during election periods. Evidence of its use reveals that this law gives an unfair advantage to the President's party. The President literally becomes a competitor and referee at the same time. It should be a key pre-condition that the use of this law be severely limited or in fact be eliminated during electoral periods unless exercised in circumstances where it is absolutely necessary and only then after consultation and agreement with the other parties.

3.8. Electoral Reforms

3.8.1. Zimbabwe electoral Commission (ZEC) Staff

- 3.8.1.1 Constitutional Amendment Number 18 introduced a new Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC). Pursuant to this new commissioners were appointed to the same. The new ZEC however inherited all the staff of the old electoral commission.

- 3.8.1.2 Fully aware that the old ZEC and its staff have been at the epicentre of contested elections, it is self-evident that the new ZEC must have the opportunity of recruiting its staff afresh and not be saddled with legacy issues of the past. Therefore, it is a necessary condition for a **sustainable election in Zimbabwe** that the new ZEC be authorised to recruit new staff for the same.



3.8.2. Amendments to the Electoral Law

3.8.2.1 The Zimbabwe electoral environment is heavily skewed in favour of one political player. The amendments must cover a whole host of areas which include the following;

- a) The need for all full audit of the electoral processes at all key stages
- b) The need to ensure the timeous announcement of election results by ZEC itself through its Chairman or other Commissioners.
- c) The need to ensure the automation and computerisation of all election processes starting with the voters roll and election results.
- d) The need to ensure a speedy and impartial resolution of electoral disputes and complaints.
- e) The need to ensure the extensive monitoring and observation of elections.
- f) The need to ensure that the media have full and unfettered access to the election and election processes.
- g) The need for election agents to have free access to polling stations.
- h) The need to ensure free access by all political parties and voters to election material and election information including the voters roll and details for instance of ballot papers printed.
- i) The need to ensure the liberalisation of voter registration conditions.
- j) The need to prevent any intimidation at the polling station.



3.8.3. Guaranteeing the Right of Every Zimbabwean to Vote

3.8.3.1 It is the right of every Zimbabwean above 18 years to vote. This right is sacrosanct. The new section 23 (A) of the Constitution of Zimbabwe implicitly guarantees the right of every Zimbabwean to participate in politics. This in fact also guarantees the right of every Zimbabwean even in the diaspora to vote.

3.8.4. Postal and Special Voting

3.8.4.1 In the March 2008 elections, William Bango, an MDC candidate for Chikomba House of Assembly constituency **lost by 22 postal votes**, raising suspicions that the postal voting system has potentially been manipulated to tweak election results.

3.8.4.2 Postal and special voting in Zimbabwe has been a preserve of a very small group of people in Zimbabwe, particularly uniformed forces and diplomats. This process has largely been opaque. The need to put clarity and certainty on the use of these forms of voting is necessary. ZEC needs to put in place mechanisms to ensure that this process is not abused. There is need for unimpeded monitoring of this voting process by all political parties and other election stakeholders.

3.8.5. The Impartiality and Transparency of the Electoral Management Process

3.8.5.1 The whole credibility and transparency of an election depends on the integrity and independence of the ZEC. This includes not only re-creating the legal architecture but also ensuring the human agents – not just Commissioners but also that staff are able to exercise independent judgment and work impartially without fear or favour. Of key importance is ensuring the Commission has financial and resource independence – it must have sufficient resources to execute its role and interference from politicians must



be eliminated as pre-conditions to a free and fair election. Thus it is critical that ZEC be staffed by **NEW** and civilian employees recruited by the present Commission.

3.8.5.2 Furthermore, it is critical that no member of the CIO, Police or the Army is involved in the management and execution of any election.

3.8.6. The Voters Roll

3.8.6.1 It is absolutely important that the ZEC has full ownership and control of the voters roll. This includes the role of carrying out the registration of voters. Thus the development, management and custodianship of the voters' roll must be a preserve of ZEC only.

3.8.6.2 It is critical that a **NEW** voters' roll be prepared before the new election. The current voters' roll is laden with names of dead people and contains so many inaccuracies.



3.8.6.3 Once the new voters' roll is out, it is important that the same be readily available to the citizens of Zimbabwe free of charge. This also includes the provision of a dedicated website for the voters' roll.

3.8.7. Delimitation

3.8.7.1 Once a new voters' roll has been prepared and new voters' registration has taken place, a new delimitation exercise must be conducted by ZEC.

3.8.8. The Media

3.8.8.1 The recently constituted Zimbabwe Media Commission requires enabling legislation to make it fully functional.

3.8.8.2 A new Board for the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) must be appointed



immediately with each party nominating its representative board members on the ratio of 3:3:1(MDC-T; ZANU PF and MDC-N). Thereafter, the necessary steps must be taken to convert it into a public broadcaster.

3.8.8.3 A new board for the Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe (BAZ) must be appointed immediately in terms of the law. The Board of BAZ must invite new applications for broadcasting licences and grant the same to qualified applicants in terms of the law.

3.8.8.4 A new board for the Mass Media Trust must be appointed immediately with each party nominating its representative board members on the ratio of 3:3:1(MDC-T; ZANU PF and MDC-N)

3.8.9. Voter Education

3.8.9.1 Voter education is a critical component of the electoral process. As such, this process must be open to all electoral stakeholders. Civic groups must be allowed to conduct voter education in an impartial manner.

3.8.10. Proclamation of Elections

3.8.10.1 In accordance with the provisions of the GPA, the proclamation of an election cannot be a unilateral decision but must be a consultative process. This proclamation must not be determined by time but by the process of enacting a conducive environment for a free and fair election. Elections are not an event but a process.

CHAPTER FOUR: GUARANTEEING THE SECURITY OF THE PERSON

4.1. General

4.1.1. Corrosive violence has been at the epicentre of unsustainable and illegitimate elections that we have had in Zimbabwe. All the elections we have held in this country (1980, 1985, 1990, 1995, 2000, 2002, 2005 and 2008) have been marred by electoral violence and intimidation that has disenfranchised thousands of Zimbabweans. In the June 2008 run-off election, hundreds of Zimbabweans lost their lives whilst thousands fled from their burning homes and executed livestock.

4.1.2. The MDC will not allow Zimbabweans to participate in another bloodbath such as the one witnessed in 2008. To prevent this, it is fundamentally critical that major reforms and programs are implemented and executed to prevent intimidation and violence



4.2. Code of Conduct for Political Parties

4.2.1. It is imperative that soon after the proclamation of the election; all political parties must sign a Code of Conduct making a pledge to upholding the constitution of Zimbabwe and desisting from actions that jeopardises the freeness and fairness of the election. This Code of Conduct must be endorsed by the Facilitator, SADC, AU and the UN. ZEC needs to be given powers to suspend parties and candidates that do not adhere to this code of conduct.

4.3. Election Monitors and Observers



4.3.1. SADC as the Guarantors to the GPA must ensure that Monitors and Observers are in Zimbabwe at least 6 months before the date of an election and at least 6 months after the date of the election.

4.3.2. ZEC must have exclusive control of the accreditation of election observers and monitors. ZEC must also be trusted to execute this power impartially and without interference from politicians and political parties.

4.4. Traditional Leaders

The parties agreed in the GPA to *“call upon all traditional leaders not to engage in partisan political activities at national levels as well as in their communities.”* To this extent, traditional leaders must be apolitical in the exercise of their duties.

4.5. Food aid

- 4.5.1. In the previous elections, food aid has been used as a political tool by Zanu PF. Food aid has been distributed along party lines with the use of the Zanu PF card as a form of access key to get food aid. It is paramount that parties adhere to the GPA which states that, the parties agreed *“in the fulfilment of its obligation, the Government and all State institutions and quasi State institutions shall render humanitarian and food assistance without discrimination on the grounds of race, ethnicity, gender, political affiliation or religion”* and *“that humanitarian interventions rendered by non-governmental organisations shall be provided without discrimination on the grounds of race, ethnicity, gender, political affiliation or religion.”*

4.6. Security of the Person and Violence

- 4.6.1. All elections in post-independence Zimbabwe have been marred by violence, coercion and intimidation. This is not sustainable. Equally all elections have been marred by instances where some political parties and individuals have been denied the right to campaign peacefully. It is common cause that certain geographical areas like model A1 and A2 farming areas have been no go areas for a majority of parties.



- 4.6.2. The law too has been selectively applied and more evidently, the law has not come to the aid of victims of political violence and other illegal or corrupt electoral practices. Thus in creating conditions for a sustainable election in Zimbabwe it is simply critical to define measure to protect the security of the person.

- 4.6.3. Violence and intimidation are the biggest challenge to a free and fair election in Zimbabwe. It is important that this corrosive cancer be nipped in the bud by Zimbabweans and indeed the guarantors to the GPA.
- 4.6.4. At party level, dialogue and the Inter-Party Liaison Committees established in the current Electoral Act must be actualised. Furthermore, the enactment of the new violence mechanism in the draft Electoral Act must be actualised.
- 4.6.5. The bulk of violence in Zimbabwe is either State sponsored or State led. It is therefore important for security agents to adhere to the Constitution and the political agreement but more importantly, **there has to be Security Sector Realignment.**

4.7. Strengthening the Joint Monitoring and Implementation Committee (JOMIC)

- 4.7.1 In order to ensure effective monitoring of the GPA it is imperative that JOMIC be



strengthened to enable it to carry out its mandate. To date JOMIC has been hampered by lack of resources, which have restricted its monitoring role in the Districts and

Provinces.

- 4.7.2 There is need to resource JOMIC to decentralise its activities so that it becomes fully functional in all the country's Provinces and Districts.

4.8. Equal and expeditious application of the law

- 4.8.1 Violence and intimidation take place where a culture of impunity exists and where the rule of law is no longer functional. Where perpetrators of violence are arrested and the law takes its course expeditiously, strong deterrence occurs.
- 4.8.2 It is therefore important to ensure that the law is applied equally and expeditiously. In this country sadly this has not been the case as only a handful of persons who have perpetrated violence have been prosecuted. The likes of Joseph Mwale and Kainos Zimunya, also known as Kitsiyatota, who murdered our people in the year 2000 are still roaming free despite High Court judgements demanding their prosecution.

4.9. Special Courts of Violence

- 4.9.1 The current law only gives relief to a victim of electoral violence or any other illegal or corrupt electoral practices after an election. This is not acceptable. Special electoral courts must be established in every district or province before an election that will have

extensive powers of dealing with all electoral corrupt and illegal practices before the election. These courts should be manned by qualified magistrates but under the watchful eye of the Human Rights Commission, which should have the powers of persecuting. The special electoral courts should also have the power of suspending and barring any candidate from contesting an election if convicted of an electoral offense.



4.10. Independent Prosecuting Authority

- 4.10.1 Section 121 of the Criminal Evidence Procedures Act (CEPA) has been routinely abused to detain MDC officials and civil society activists
- 4.10.2 It is therefore important to establish an independent prosecuting authority separate from the office of the Attorney General to ensure the impartial prosecution of cases. This is critical not just for election sustainability but also for judicial sustainability.

CHAPTER FIVE: PROTECTING THE PEOPLE'S WILL

5.1.1 Recent elections that have been held in the SADC region have demonstrated that there is a deepening of democratic electoral practice and that it is possible to have elections that are violence-free. The recent election in Zambia saw a democratic transfer of power occurring without the unnecessary shedding of blood.

5.1.2 5.1. 2. It is important for SADC and the parties to agree on a framework that ensures that if Zimbabwe is to have an election, its outcome is respected and that power transfer is guaranteed.

Put simply, the case of Gbagbo and Ivory Coast must be avoided.

5.1.3 In this regard, it will be important for SADC and the AU to make it clear and unequivocal that they will not accept any subversion of the people's will.



SADC and AU as guarantors of the GPA and consistent with the AU Charter must make it clear that they will protect democracy.

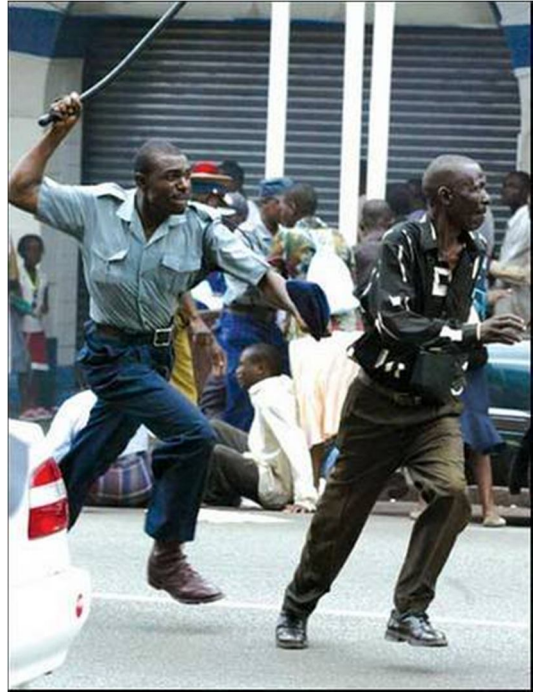
5.2 Security Sector Realignment

"Tsvangirai doesn't pose a political threat in any way in Zimbabwe, but is a major security threat. He takes instructions from foreigners who seek to effect illegal regime change in Zimbabwe. This is what has invited the security forces to be involved because we want to ensure we protect our national security interests. When he said Mugabe must go peacefully or else forcefully, was that democratic or constitutional? "Daydreamers who want to reverse the gains of our liberation struggle will continue daydreaming. They can go to hell . . . they will never rule this country. "We cannot keep quiet. We will continue speaking and as the security forces, we will not sit back and watch things going wrong." Brigadier General Douglas Nyikayaramba, June 2011.

"This country came through blood and the barrel of the gun and it can never be re-colonised through a simple pen, which costs as little as five cents." Police Commissioner General Augustine Chihuri November 2010.

5.2.1 Part of ensuring that the people's will is respected and not subverted is undertaking security sector realignment.

5.2.2 The current leadership in the security sector has in the past displayed partisan behaviour. Statements by Brigadier Douglas Nyikayaramba and the Police Commissioner General Agustin Chihuri attest to this as they have publicly pledged their support for ZANU (PF). In our view, the best way to realign the security sector is to retire at the very minimum the Commissioner General of Police Agustin Chihuri and the Commander of the Zimbabwe Defence Forces General Constantine Chiwenga.



5.2.3 In view of the erstwhile public statements by the Service Chiefs reflecting their unwillingness to serve a civilian leader apart from those from one party, they should issue another public statement unequivocally stating that they will uphold the Constitution and support the will of the people.

5.2.4 The State Security Agents have been involved in the perpetration of violence and



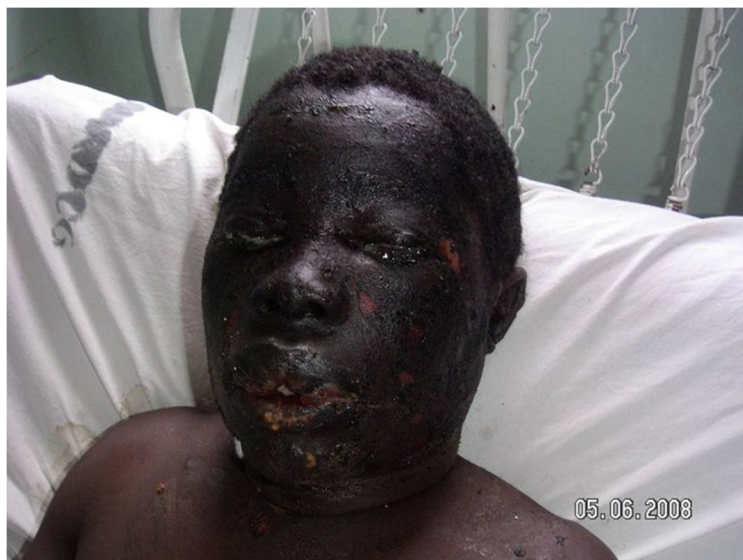
intimidation and the selective application of the law. It is therefore important that the Police must perform their duties impartially and not have a category called political violence in which they take no action.

5.2.5 All the military personnel must be removed from the villages and returned to barracks until after the election. Any deployment before the next election must be sanctioned by the National Security Council.

5.2.6 The Ministers responsible for the security portfolios must report to the Prime Minister at the policy implementation and supervisory roles. The Prime Minister must receive security briefs that the President receives.

5.2.7 The existence and operations of the Central Intelligence Organisation must be regulated by an Act of Parliament which should be enacted before the next elections.

5.2.8 The Police Service Commission, in particular the Defence Service Commission, the Public Service Commission must be



accountable to both Parliament and the three arms of the Executive, namely, the President, Prime Minister and Cabinet, particularly on policy issues such as recruitment, purchase of arms, etc.

5.2.9 A recent independent audit revealed that there are 38 000 ghost workers under the Public Service Commission. Many of these were recruited in the run-up to the June 27 election. Thus any security sector reform in the short term must address the issue of ghost workers who are currently operating as commissars.

CONCLUSION

Zimbabwe has been in a country in perpetual conflict both before and after Independence. Violence has been a permanent feature of the country's national politics since independence and as a result the legitimacy of successive ZANU (PF) regimes has always been disputed. The war of liberation itself, *Gukurahundi* in the 1980s, civic protests of the 1990s, chaotic farm invasions that started in 2000 and the attendant violent election campaigns of the same year, the 2002 Presidential Election, Elections in 2005, Operation *Murambatsvina* in 2005 and the June 2008 Presidential run-off have all been punctuated by violence. Zimbabweans deserve a break from this cycle of violence. Peace and stability are critical if the country is to attain sustainable and inclusive growth.

The GPA and the GNU have provided Zimbabweans and other concerned Africans a genuine opportunity to create conditions for a peaceful transition to country that has been in perpetual conflict. It is thus critical to ensure that the next election is uninterrupted, peaceful and that it will produce an outcome that is legitimate and undisputed.

For and on behalf of the people of Zimbabwe

Committing our Party and our Country to GOD

THE PEOPLE'S CHECKLIST FOR A SUSTAINABLE ELECTION

1. Implementation of the GPA and all other agreed positions
2. Implementation post-Maputo resolutions
3. Implementation of the Roadmap
4. Implementation of agreed positions following the review of the GPA in May of 2011
5. Implementing Regional and International Standards
6. The Constitution and the Constitution-Making Process
7. Legislative Reform
8. Oversight Commissions
9. The right to Freedom of Association, Assembly and Movement
10. Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act
11. Presidential Powers (Temporary Measures) Act
12. Zimbabwe electoral Commission (ZEC) Staff
13. Amendments to the Electoral Law
14. Postal and Special Voting
15. The Voters Roll
16. Delimitation
17. The Media
18. Voter Education
19. Proclamation of Elections
20. Political Violence
21. Election Monitors and Observers
22. Traditional Leaders

- 23. Food aid
- 24. Strengthening the Joint Monitoring and Implementation Committee (JOMIC)
- 25. Special Courts of Violence
- 26. Independent Prosecuting Authority
- 27. Security Sector Realignment

ANNEXURES



SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections

1. INTRODUCTION

SADC region has made significant strides in the consolidation of the citizens' participation in the decision making processes and consolidation of democratic practice and institutions. The Constitutions of all SADC Member States enshrine the principles of equal opportunities and full participation of the citizens in the political process.

The Southern African countries, building upon their common historical and cultural identity forged over centuries, agreed to encapsulate their commonality into a single vision, that of a SHARED FUTURE. In this context, in 1992 the Southern African countries meeting in Windhoek, the Republic of Namibia, signed a Treaty establishing the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

Article 4 of the Treaty stipulates that "human rights, democracy and the rule of law" are principles guiding the acts of its members. Article 5 of the Treaty outlines the objectives of SADC, which commits the Member States to "promote common political values, systems and other shared values which are transmitted through institutions, which are democratic, legitimate and effective. It also commits Member States to "consolidate, defend and maintain democracy, peace, security and stability" in the region. The Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation provides that SADC shall "promote the development of democratic institutions and practices within the territories of State Parties and encourage the observance of universal human rights as provided for in the Charter and Conventions of the Organization of African Unity [African Union] and the United Nations."

In addition, the Strategic Indicative Plan for the Organ (SIPO), as the implementation framework of the Protocol, emphasizes the need for democratic consolidation in the region. The development of the principles governing democratic elections aims at enhancing the transparency and credibility of elections and democratic governance as well as ensuring the acceptance of election results by all

contesting parties. The Guidelines are not only informed by the SADC legal and policy instruments but also by the major principles and guidelines emanating from the OAU/AU Declaration on the Principles Governing

Democratic Elections in Africa – AHG/DECL.1 (XXXVIII) and the AU Guidelines for African Union Electoral Observation and Monitoring Missions – EX/CL/35 (III) Annex II.

2. PRINCIPLES FOR CONDUCTING DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS

2.1 In the event a Member State decides to extend an invitation to SADC to observe its elections, this shall be based on the provisions of the Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation.

2.2 SADC Member States shall adhere to the following principles in the conduct of democratic elections:

2.1.1 Full participation of the citizens in the political process;

2.1.2 Freedom of association;

2.1.3 Political tolerance;

2.1.4 Regular intervals for elections as provided for by the respective National Constitutions;

2.1.5 Equal opportunity for all political parties to access the state media;

2.1.6 Equal opportunity to exercise the right to vote and be voted for;

2.1.7 Independence of the Judiciary and impartiality of the electoral institutions; and

2.1.8 Voter education.

2.1.9 Acceptance and respect of the election results by political parties proclaimed to have been free and fair by the competent National Electoral Authorities in accordance with the law of the land.

2.1.10 Challenge of the election results as provided for in the law of the land.

3 MANDATE AND CONSTITUTION OF THE SADC OBSERVERS MISSION

3.1 In the event a Member State deems it necessary to invite SADC to observe its elections, the SADC Electoral Observation Missions (SEOM) have an Observation role. The mandate of the Mission shall be based on the Treaty and the Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation.

3.2 The Chairperson of the Organ shall officially constitute the Mission upon receipt of an official invitation from the Electoral Authority of a Member State holding the elections.

3.3 The Chairperson of the Organ shall mandate the Executive Secretary to issue a Letter of Credential to each Member of the SEOM prior to their deployment into the Member State holding elections.

3.4 The constitution of the Mission should comply with the SADC policies relating to gender balance. While recognising that the Members of the Mission may come from different political parties in the home countries, they should behave as a team.

4. GUIDELINES FOR THE OBSERVATION OF ELECTIONS

4.1 SADC Member States shall be guided by the following guidelines to determine the nature and scope of election observation:

- 4.1.1 Constitutional and legal guarantees of freedom and rights of the citizens;
- 4.1.2 Conducive environment for free, fair and peaceful elections;
- 4.1.3 Non-discrimination in the voters' registration;
- 4.1.4 Existence of updated and accessible voters roll;
- 4.1.5 Timeous announcement of the election date;
- 4.1.6 Where applicable, funding of political parties must be transparent and based on agreed threshold in accordance with the laws of the land;
- 4.1.7 Polling Stations should be in neutral places;
- 4.1.8 Counting of the votes at polling stations;
- 4.1.9 Establishment of the mechanism for assisting the planning and deployment of electoral observation missions; and
- 4.1.10 SADC Election Observation Missions should be deployed at least two weeks before the voting day.

5. CODE OF CONDUCT FOR ELECTION OBSERVERS

5.1 The code of conduct for the elections observers of SADC are consistent with those of the OAU/AU Declaration on the Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa - AHG/DECL. 1(XXXVIII). In this regard, the SADC Election Observation Missions shall adhere to the following code of conduct:

- 5.1.1 Must comply with all national laws and regulations;
- 5.1.2 Shall maintain strict impartiality in the conduct of their duties, and shall at no time express any bias or preference in relation to national authorities, parties and candidates in contention in the Election process. Furthermore they will not display or wear any partisan symbols, colours or banners;
- 5.1.3 Shall neither accept nor attempt to procure any gifts, favours or inducements from a candidate, their agent, the parties or any other organisation or person involved in the electoral process;
- 5.1.4 Shall immediately disclose to the relevant SADC structures any relationship that could lead to a conflict of interest with their duties or with the process of the observation and assessment of the elections;

- 5.1.5 Will base all reports and conclusions on well documented, factual, and verifiable evidence from multiple number of credible sources as well as their own eye witness accounts;
- 5.1.6 Shall seek a response from the person or organisation concerned before treating any unsubstantiated allegation as valid;
- 5.1.7 Shall identify in their reports the exact information and the sources of the information they have gathered and used as a basis for their assessment of the electoral process or environment;
- 5.1.8 Shall report all information gathered or witnessed by them honestly and accurately;
- 5.1.9 Shall, when meeting election officials, relevant state authorities and public officials, parties, candidates and their agents shall inform them of the aims and objectives of the SEOM;
- 5.1.10 May wish to bring irregularities to the attention of the local election officials, but they must never give instructions or countermand decisions of the election officials;
- 5.1.11 Will carry any prescribed identification issued at all times, and will identify themselves to any interested authority upon request;
- 5.1.12 Will undertake their duties in an unobtrusive manner, and will not interfere with the election process, polling day procedures, or the vote count;
- 5.1.13 Will refrain from making personal or premature comments or judgements about their observations to the media or any other interested persons, and will limit any remarks to general information about the nature of their activity as observers;
- 5.1.14 Must participate in the briefings/training provided by the SEOM;
- 5.1.15 Must provide their reports on time to their supervisors and attend any debriefings as required; and
- 5.1.16 Should work harmoniously with each other and with observers from other organisations in their area of deployment.

6 RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF SADC ELECTION OBSERVERS

- 6.1 The rights and responsibilities of the SOEM are based on the SADC experience and the AU Guidelines for Electoral Observation and Monitoring Missions. Accordingly the following shall be the rights and responsibilities of the SADC Elections Observers:
 - 6.1.1 Freedom of movement within the host country;
 - 6.1.2. Accreditation as election observers on a non-discriminatory basis;
 - 6.1.3. Unhindered access to and communicate freely with the media;
 - 6.1.4 Free access to all legislation and regulations governing the electoral process and environment;
 - 6.1.5 Free access to electoral registers or voters' roll;

- 6.1.6 Unimpeded and unrestricted access to all polling stations and counting centres;
- 6.1.7. Communicate freely with all competing political parties, candidates, other political associations and organisations, and civil society organisations;
- 6.1.8. Communicate freely with voters without prejudice to the electoral law proscribing such communication in order to protect the secrecy of the vote;
- 6.1.9 Communicate with and have unimpeded and unrestricted access to the National Election Commission or appropriate electoral authority and all other election administrators;
- 6.1.10. The SEOM shall be headed by an appropriate official from the Office of the Chairperson of the Organ who shall also be the spokesperson of the Mission;
- 6.1.11. Send regular reports on the electoral observation process to the Representative of the Organ on issues that may require urgent consideration;
- 6.1.12 Issue a statement on the conduct and outcome of the elections immediately after the announcement of the result; and
- 6.1.13 Prepare a Final Report within 30 (thirty) days after the announcement of the results.

7. RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE MEMBER STATE HOLDING ELECTIONS

- 7.1 Take necessary measures to ensure the scrupulous implementation of the above principles, in accordance with the constitutional processes of the country;
- 7.2 Establish where none exist, appropriate institutions where issues such as codes of conduct, citizenship, residency, age requirements for eligible voters and compilation of voters' registers, would be addressed;
- 7.3 Establish impartial, all-inclusive, competent and accountable national electoral bodies staffed by qualified personnel, as well as competent legal entities including effective constitutional courts to arbitrate in the event of disputes arising from the conduct of elections;
- 7.4 Safeguard the human and civil liberties of all citizens including the freedom of movement, assembly, association, expression, and campaigning as well as access to the media on the part of all stakeholders, during electoral processes as provided for under 2.1.5 above;
- 7.5 Take all necessary measures and precautions to prevent the perpetration of fraud, rigging or any other illegal practices throughout the whole electoral process, in order to maintain peace and security;
- 7.6 Ensure the availability of adequate logistics and resources for carrying out democratic elections;
- 7.7 Ensure that adequate security is provided to all parties participating in elections;
- 7.8 Ensure the transparency and integrity of the entire electoral process by facilitating the deployment of representatives of political parties and individual candidates at polling and counting stations and by accrediting national and/or other observers/monitors;

- 7.9 Encourage the participation of women, disabled and youth in all aspects of the electoral process in accordance with the national laws;
- 7.10 Issuing invitation by the relevant Electoral Institutions of the country in election to SADC 90 (ninety) days before the voting day in order to allow an adequate preparation for the deployment of the Electoral Observation Mission;
- 7.11 Ensure freedom of movement of the members of the SEOM within the host country;
- 7.12 Accreditation of the members of the SEOM as election observers on a non-discriminatory basis;
- 7.13 Allow the members of the SEOM to communicate freely with all competing political parties, candidates, other political associations and organisations, and civil society organizations;
- 7.14 Allow the members of the SEOM to communicate freely with voters except when the electoral law reasonably prescribes such communication in order to protect the secrecy of the vote;
- 7.15 Allow the members of the SEOM an unhindered access to and communicate freely with the media;
- 7.16 Allow the members of the SEOM to communicate with and have unimpeded access to the National Election Commission or appropriate electoral authority and all other election administrators;
- 7.17 Allow the members of the SEOM free access to all legislation and regulations governing the electoral process and environment;
- 7.18 Allow the members of the SEOM free access to all electoral registers or voters' list;
- 7.19 Ensure that the members of the SEOM have an unimpeded and unrestricted access to all polling stations and counting centres.

**IMPLEMENTATION MATRIX OF THE AGREED ISSUES
ZIMBABWE ELECTION ROADMAP WITH TIMELINES**

ISSUE		ACTIVITY		TIMEFRAME
A	SANCTIONS	i.	Lobby for the removal of sanctions	Immediate
		ii.	Re-engagement committee to be reactivated	Immediate
		iii.	SADC to implement its numerous resolution on Zimbabwean sanctions in particular the resolution from the SADC Summit held in Windhoek in August 2010	To be determined by SADC
ISSUE			ACTIVITY	TIMEFRAME
B	CONSTITUTION	i.	Thematic Committees	As determined by COPAC
		ii	Drafting	
		iii	Second all-stakeholder Conference	
		iv	Parliament	
		v	Referendum	
		vi	Parliament	Within 60 days from date of Referendum
		vii	Presidential Assent	
ISSUE			ACTIVITY	TIMEFRAME
C	MEDIA REFORM	i	Appointment of new board of the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Cooperation	Consideration of these items was deferred
		ii	Appointment of a new Board for the Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe	
		iii	Licensing of new broadcasters	Within 120 days from 1/8/2011
		iv	Appointment of new Trustees for the Mass Media Trust	Consideration of these items was deferred
		v	Establish the Media Council of Zimbabwe	Within 60 days from 1/8/2011
		vi	Call upon the governments that are hosting and or funding radio stations broadcasting into Zimbabwe to cease such hosting and funding	Immediate
		vii	Encourage Zimbabweans running or working for external radio stations broadcasting into Zimbabwe to return to Zimbabwe	Immediate

		viii	Hate Speech To direct the state media to support all agreed government programmes and put a stop to attacks against ministers implementing such programmes	Immediate
ISSUE			ACTIVITY	TIMEFRAME
D	ELECTORAL REFORM	i	Enactment of agreed electoral amendments	Within 45 days from 6/7/2011
		ii	Voter Education	30 days duration
		iii	Mobilisation for voter registration	
		iv	Voter registration	60 days duration
		v	Preparation of new voters roll	60 days duration
		vi	Inspection of voters roll	45 days duration
		vii	Clean-up voters roll and produce final voters roll	45 days duration
		viii	The staffing of ZEC a. The staff of ZEC to be recruited afresh by the new Commission - MDC-T b. Ensure non-partisanship and transparency in the recruitment of ZEC staff – MDC-N c. There should no changes of ZEC staff. Determination of the suitability is the responsibility of the Commission – ZANU PF	
ISSUE			ACTIVITY	TIMEFRAME
E	RULE OF LAW	i	Consistent with the Principals agreement of 8 th of June 2010. There is a reaffirmation by all the parties to their commitment under articles 11 and 13 of the GPA. There will be meetings of the Principals of the Attorney General, Commissioner General of the Police, Head of the other Security and Intelligence institutions to ensure full commitment to operate in a non-partisan manner consistent with the GPA	To be determined by Principals

		ii	Public Statement a. Instruct the security forces to issue a public statement that they will unequivocally uphold the constitution and respect the rule of law in the lead up to or following any election or referendum – MDC Formations b. This is not an election matter. Political parties have no right to direct uniformed forces to issue political statements – ZANU PF	
		iii	Violence a. End military and police abuse of the rule of law and end all state sponsored or sanctioned violence – MDC Formations b. We have no knowledge of abuse and state sponsored violence and we invite such evidence to be made available	
		iv	Deployment a. There should be demilitarisation of soldiers and other security personnel that have been unlawfully deployed in the country and thus be sent back to the barracks – MDC –T b. Redeployment of military to barracks – MDC –N c. We deny that there are serving members of the military doing political work and we invite evidence to be made available. We protest to the use of the word “demilitarisation” it is a war term that is not applicable even in the circumstances as alleged by the MDC formations – ZANU PF	

		v	Intelligence a. Enact an Act of Parliament regulating the operations of the CIO – MDC-T b. This is an election issue as referred to and covered under article XIII (i) of the GPA which reads as follows “<i>state organs and institutions do not belong to any political party and should be impartial in their duties</i>” MDC –N c. This issue is neither a GPA one nor an election issue and is being raised as an attack on the institution. The issue falls to be resolved in the constitution-making process – ZANU PF	
		vi	Put in place or enhance the mechanism and framework to ensure accountability of the Police Commission and the Public Service Commission in compliance with article XIII (i) of the GPA	To be determined by the Principals
ISSUE			ACTIVITY	TIMEFRAME
F	FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION AND FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY	i	a. Meeting of the Principals with the Commissioner General of the Police	To be determined by the Principals
			b. Meeting of the Negotiators with the Commissioner General of the Police	Within 30 days from 6 th July 2011
		ii	POSA a. Amend POSA so as to tighten it against discretion and abuse and to bring it in line with commitments within the GPA and the Constitution MDC-T b. Review POSA in light of the current abuse by the Police MDC-N c. We need to know the nature of the proposed amendments before we comment. The current	

			POSA was amended in 2007 by all political parties through negotiation and provides a sound legal framework for regulating meetings and assemblies ZANU PF	
ISSUE			ACTIVITY	TIMEFRAME
G	LEGISLATIVE AGENDA AND COMMITMENTS	i	Realign Zimbabwe's laws with the new constitution and also address transitional arrangements	Within 60 days from Referendum
		ii	Enact the Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission Bill	Within 45 days from 6/7/2011
		iii	Amend section 121 of the Criminal Procedure and Evidence Act to confine the same to specific prescribed offences	Agree amendments within 60 days from 6/7/2011
		iv	Enact agreed amendments to the Electoral Act	Within 45 days from 6/7/2011
		v	Appoint the Zimbabwe Anti-Corruption Commission	Within 30 days from 6/7/2011
ISSUE			ACTIVITY	TIMEFRAME
H	ACTUAL ELECTION	i	Delimitation of constituencies	In terms of the Constitution
		ii	Gazetting of the specific polling centres falling within specific constituencies	
		iii	Presidential proclamation in consultation with the Prime Minister	
		iv	Activation of liaison committees particularly at local level	
		v	Nomination of candidates	
		vi	Printing of ballot papers	
		vii	Polling	
		viii	Announcement of election results	
		ix	Monitors a. Presence of SADC and other African monitors 6 months prior to and 6 months after election - MDC-T b. Implement SADC Troika	

			resolutions made in Livingstone on the 31st of March 2011 in respect of which 3 SADC appointed officers are to be deployed in Zimbabwe to work with Jomic - MDC-N c. Observation of elections must only be in accordance with the agreed amendments to the Electoral Act - ZANU PF	
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SADC RESOLUTIONS

LIVINGSTONE, ZAMBIA; MARCH 31 2011



COMMUNIQUÉ

SUMMIT OF THE ORGAN TROIKA ON POLITICS, DEFENCE AND SECURITY COOPERATION

31 MARCH, 2011

LIVINGSTONE, REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

1. The Troika Summit of the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation met in Livingstone, Republic of Zambia, on 31 March 2011 to consider the political and security situation in the region, in particular in the Republics of Madagascar and Zimbabwe.

13. On Zimbabwe, Summit received the report on the political and security situation in the country as presented by the SADC Facilitator H.E. Jacob Zuma, the President of the Republic of South Africa.

14. Summit appreciated the frankness with which the report was presented by the SADC Facilitator and commended him for the work that he has been doing on behalf of SADC.

15. Summit recalled past SADC decisions on the implementation of the GPA and noted with disappointment insufficient progress thereof and expressed its impatience in the delay of the implementation of the GPA.

16. Summit noted with grave concern the polarization of the political environment as characterized by, inter alia, resurgence of violence, arrests and intimidation in Zimbabwe.

17. In view of the above, Summit resolved that:

- a. there must be an immediate end of violence, intimidation, hate speech, harassment, and any other form of action that contradicts the letter and spirit of GPA;*
- b. all stakeholders to the GPA should implement all the provisions of the GPA and create a conducive environment for peace, security, and free political activity;*

- c. the Inclusive Government in Zimbabwe should complete all the steps necessary for the holding of the election including the finalisation of the constitutional amendment and the referendum;*
- d. SADC should assist Zimbabwe to formulate guidelines that will assist in holding an election that will be peaceful, free and fair, in accordance with the SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections;*
- e. the Troika of the Organ shall appoint a team of officials to join the Facilitation Team and work with the Joint Monitoring and Implementation Committee (JOMIC) to ensure monitoring, evaluation and implementation of the GPA. The Troika shall develop the Terms of Reference, time frames and provide regular progress report, the first, to be presented during the next SADC Extraordinary Summit. Summit will review progress on the implementation of GPA and take appropriate action.*

18. Summit endorsed the report of the SADC Facilitation on Zimbabwe.

Livingstone, Republic of Zambia

31 March, 2011



LUANDA, ANGOLA; AUGUST 18 2011

COMMUNIQUÉ OF THE 31ST SADC HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT SUMMIT

The 31st Summit of Heads of State and Government of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) was held in Luanda, Republic of Angola from August 17 to 18, 2011.

..... *“On Zimbabwe, Summit took note of progress in the implementation of its decisions taken during the Extra Ordinary Summit in June, 2011. Summit urged the parties to Global Political Agreement to remain committed to the implementation of the Agreement and finalise the Roadmap for resolving outstanding issues. Summit re-affirmed its decision of the Sandton Extra-Ordinary Summit and urged the Troika of the Organ to appoint a team of officials to join the facilitation team and work with the JOMIC to ensure monitoring, evaluation and implementation of the GPA. The Troika shall develop the terms of reference, time frames and provide regular progress reports. Summit will review progress on the implementation of GPA and take appropriate action.”*



SANDTON, SOUTH AFRICA; 12 JUNE 2011

COMMUNIQUÉ:

Extraordinary summit of heads of state and government of the Southern African Development Community,

Sandton, Republic of South Africa, 11 and 12 June 2011

1. The Extraordinary Summit of Heads of State and Government of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) was held at Sandton, Republic of South Africa on 11 and 12 June 2011.
7. Summit considered reports on the prevailing political and security situation in Madagascar and Zimbabwe.
18. Summit urged the Organ Troika to remain actively seized of the political situation in Madagascar. On Zimbabwe, Summit noted the report of H.E. Jacob G. Zuma, President of the Republic of South Africa and SADC Facilitator on Zimbabwe, on the progress made in the implementation of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) in Zimbabwe noting consultations held with the Stakeholders in Zimbabwe on the implementation of the outstanding issues on the GPA.
29. On Zimbabwe, Summit noted the report of H.E. Jacob G. Zuma, President of the Republic of South Africa and SADC Facilitator on Zimbabwe, on the progress made in the implementation of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) in Zimbabwe noting consultations held with the Stakeholders in Zimbabwe on the implementation of the outstanding issues on the GPA.
30. Summit noted the decisions of the Organ Troika Summit held in Livingstone, Zambia in March 2011.
31. Summit mandated the Organ Troika to continue to assist Zimbabwe in the full implementation of the GPA.
32. Summit urged the Organ Troika to appoint their representatives as soon as possible to participate in the Joint Monitoring and Implementation Committee (JOMIC).
33. Summit mandated the Secretariat to mobilise resources for JOMIC for it to discharge its functions.
34. Summit encouraged the parties to the GPA to move faster in the implementation of the GPA

and create a conducive environment to the holding of elections that will be free and fair, under conditions of a level political field.

35. Summit commended H.E. Jacob G. Zuma, President of the Republic of South Africa, and the Facilitator for the Zimbabwe Political Dialogue for his efforts towards the full implementation of the Global Political Agreement.
36. Summit urged the Organ Troika to remain seized with the implementation of the Global Political Agreement in Zimbabwe.
37. Summit recalled its decision taken during the Extraordinary Summit in Windhoek, Namibia in August 2010, mandating the Chairperson of SADC, the Chairperson of the Organ, SADC Facilitator for the Zimbabwe Political Dialogue assisted by the Secretariat to undertake the mission to the United Kingdom, United States of America and the European Union.
38. Summit received a Report on the mission and noted its recommendations.
39. Summit committed to continue dialogue with the western powers on the removal of sanction against Zimbabwe.



PRETORIA, SOUTH AFRICA, 27 JANUARY 2009

Full text of SADC communiqué on the GPA

January 27, 2009 **SADC Communiqué on Zimbabwe:**

8. The Extraordinary Summit of the SADC Heads of State and Government met at the Presidential Guest house in Pretoria, Republic of South Africa, on January 26-27, 2009. The Extraordinary Summit met to review the implementation of the Zimbabwe Global Political Agreement.
9. January 26-27, 2009
10. The Extraordinary Summit was chaired by H.E. Kgalema Motlanthe, Chairperson of SADC and President of the Republic of South Africa
11. The Extraordinary Summit was attended by the following Heads of State and Government or their representatives:
 - a. Botswana H.E. President Lt. Gen Seretse Khama Ian Khama
 - b. Lesotho Right Honourable Prime Minister Pakalitha Mosisili
 - c. Mozambique H.E. President Armando Emilio Guebuza, Deputy Chairperson of the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation.
 - d. Namibia H.E. President Hifikepunye Pohamba
 - e. South Africa H.E. President Kgalema Motlanthe Chairperson of SADC
 - f. Swaziland H.M. King Mswati 111, Chairpeson of the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation
 - g. United Republic of Tanzania H.E. President Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete
 - h. Zambia H.E. Rupiah Banda
 - i. Zimbabwe H.E. President Robert Gabriel Mugabe
 - j. Angola Hon Assuncao Dos Anjos, Minister of External Affairs
 - k. DRC Hon Alexis Thambwe Muamba, Minister of Foreign Affairs
 - l. Seychelles Honourable Patrick Pillay, Minister of Foreign Affairs
 - m. Malawi Hon George Chabonda, Minister of Local Governmnt and Rural Development
 - n. Madagascar Hon Dr Denis Andriamandroso, Madagascar Ambassador to South Africa
 - o. Mauritius Mr Anund Priyay Neewor, GOSK, Secretary of Foreign Affairs
12. The meeting was also attended by His Excellency Thabo Mbeki, Former President of the Republic of South Africa and SADC Facilitator on the Zimbabwe Political Dialogue, Leaders of MDC Formations, Right Honourable Morgan Tsvangirai, Prime Minister Designate and Professor Welshman Ncube, representing Professor Arthur Mutambara, Deputy Prime Minister Designate of the Republic of Zimbabwe, and the Executive Secretary of SADC, Dr. Tomaz Augusto Salomão.
13. In his opening remarks, His Excellency President Kgalema Motlanthe, Chairpeson of SADC and President for the Republic of South Africa welcomed all delegates to the meeting and re-affirmed SADC's commitment to finding a lasting solution to the implementation of the Zimbabwe global political agreement.

14. The Extraordinary Summit noted that the people of Zimbabwe are faced with difficult challenges and suffering that can only be addressed once an inclusive government is in place.
 15. In view of the above, the Extraordinary Summit decided as follows:
 - a. the parties shall endeavor to cause parliament to pass the Constitutional Amendment 19 by February 5, 2009;
 - b. the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Ministers shall be sworn in by February 11, 2009;
 - c. the Ministers and Deputy Ministers shall be sworn in on February 13, 2009, which will conclude the process of the formation of the inclusive government;
 - d. the Joint-Monitoring Implementation Committee (JOMIC), provided for in the Global Political Agreement shall be activated immediately. The first meeting of JOMIC shall be convened by the Facilitator on January 30, 2009, and shall, among other things, elect the chairpersons;
 - e. the allocation of ministerial portfolios endorsed by the SADC Extraordinary Summit held on November 9, 2008, shall be reviewed six (6) months after the inauguration of the inclusive government;
 - f. the appointments of the Reserve Bank Governor and the Attorney General will be dealt with by the inclusive government after its formation; and
 - g. the negotiators of the parties shall meet immediately to consider the National Security Bill submitted by the MDC-T as well as the formula for the distribution of the Provincial Governors;
 16. the Extraordinary Summit expressed its appreciation for the efforts of His Excellency Thabo Mbeki, Former President of the Republic of South Africa and the Facilitator of the political dialogue on Zimbabwe in helping to find an amicable solution to challenges facing the Republic of Zimbabwe and encouraged him to continue with his facilitation efforts.
 17. the Extraordinary Summit commended the political parties to the Global Political Agreement for their openness and constructive engagement in finding a lasting solution to the challenges facing Zimbabwe.
 18. SADC shall remain seized with the Zimbabwe situation in keeping with its obligations as guarantor of the Global Political Agreement.
 19. the Extraordinary Summit directed the chairperson of the SADC to present the African Union at its forthcoming summit a progress report on the implementation of the Sham- El-Sheik Resolution.
 20. the Extraordinary Summit received a brief on the prevailing security situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo and supports the government efforts to finding a lasting solution to the conflict in the Eastern part of the country. The government of the DRC expressed its gratitude to SADC for the support thus far rendered.
 21. the Extraordinary Summit also urged the international community to continue providing the people of the Democratic Republic of Congo with humanitarian assistance.
 22. His Excellency President Kgalema Motlanthe officially closed the extraordinary summit.
- Pretoria, Republic of South Africa*

AFRICAN UNION RESOLUTION ON ZIMBABWE



RESOLUTION ON ZIMBABWE

The African Union Assembly, meeting in its 11th Ordinary Session held from 30 June to 1 July 2008 in Sharm El-Sheikh, Egypt;

Deeply concerned with the prevailing situation in Zimbabwe, **Deeply concerned** the negative reports of SADC, the African Union and the Pan-African

Parliament observers on the Zimbabwean President run-off election held on 27 June 2008;

Deeply Concerned about the violence and loss of life that have occurred in Zimbabwe,

Considering the urgent need to prevent further worsening of the situation and in order to avoid the spread of conflict with the consequential negative impact on the country and the sub-region,

Further considering the need to create an environment conducive to democracy, as well as the development of the people of Zimbabwe;

Expressing its appreciation to SADC, and its Organ on Politics Defence and Security Cooperation, as well as to the Facilitator of the intra-Zimbabwe dialogue, His Excellency Thabo Mbeki, President of the Republic of South Africa, and His Excellency Jean Ping, Chairperson of the African Union Commission for the ongoing work aimed at reconciling the political parties,

Recognizing the complexity of the situation in Zimbabwe; **Noting** the willingness of the political leaders of Zimbabwe to enter into negotiations to establish a Government of National Unity;

Noting Further that preparatory discussions on this matter has already started, under SADC facilitation;

Hereby decide:

23. **TO ENCOURAGE** President Robert Mugabe and the leader of the MDC Party Mr. Morgan Tsvangirai to honour their commitments to initiate dialogue with a view to promoting peace, stability, democracy and reconciliation of the Zimbabwean people;
24. **TO SUPPORT** the call for the creation of a Government of National Unity;

- 19. TO SUPPORT the SADC Facilitation, and RECOMMEND that SADC mediation efforts should be continued in order to assist the people and leadership of Zimbabwe to resolve the problems they are facing. In this regard SADC should establish a mechanism on the ground in order to seize the momentum for a negotiated solution;**
- 20. TO APPEAL to States and parties concerned to refrain from any action that may negatively impact on the climate of dialogue;**

In the spirit of all SADC initiatives, the AU remains convinced that the people of Zimbabwe will be able to resolve their differences and work together once again as one Nation, provided they receive undivided support from SADC, the AU and the world at large.

MDC ROLL OF HONOUR

The MDC roll of honour recognises the role played by all activists who passed away in the line of duty – fighting for democracy and a socially just Zimbabwe. Most on this list were murdered in cold blood, while other members passed away due to injuries sustained from violence. We recognise that we all did something for democracy, but others gave all. They are our heroes and heroines. We remember them. We salute them.

1. **Alphonso Plaxedes** of Dzivarasekwa, Harare was killed on 10 June 2003.
2. **Andoche Julius**, a farm foreman was shot and killed on 20 April 2000 by Zanu PF militia.
3. **Bakari Besta** was beaten to death by Zanu PF youths at Stodart Farm in Shamva on 16 May 2008.
4. **Bakacheza Joshua**, an MDC driver was abducted by State security agents in Masasa, Harare on 25 June 2008. His decomposing body was on 5 July 2008 in Beatrice.
5. **Banda (Mr.)** of Shamva was killed on 24 April 2008.
6. **Bashitiwayo Moses** died after he was assaulted by Zanu PF youths in April 2008.
7. **Botha William** was murdered by purported war veterans on 23 July 2000 in Marondera.
8. **Newman Bhebhe** was murdered in February 2002 in Nkayi, Matebeleland North.
9. **Solomon Bote** was beaten to death by Zanu PF youths at Musikavanhu Village in Makoni on 17 April 2008.
10. **Butao Peter Tom** died after he was severely assaulted by Zanu PF militia in Mudzi North constituency on 28 April 2008.
11. **Bvekera Kennias** of Ward 7 Clearwater area, Chipinge was killed by Zanu PF militia led by one Chikumba on 13 June 2008.
12. **Bvumburai Paul** of Shamva was murdered by Zanu PF youths in 2002.
13. **Chabuka Method** was beaten to death by Zanu PF youths in Makoni on 6 July 2008.
14. **Chacha Augustus**, an MDC activist, was found dead in a dam in Shurugwi on 10 December 2001 after he had been abducted by Zanu PF youths.
15. **Chakwenya Tinashe** was murdered in Marondera on 4 April 2000.
16. **Chakwenya John** was beaten to death by Zanu PF supporters on 2 July 2001 in Epworth, Harare.
17. **Chaitama Nicholas** an MDC supporter and farm worker was murdered in Kariba on 25 April 2000. He was abducted with eight other MDC members by a Zanu PF mob led

by Rex Chikwana which took them to Charara Estate. The ZANU (PF) militia. His body was later found dumped in Nyamhunga Township.

18. **Chakwenya Tinashe** was murdered in Marondera on 4 April 2000.
19. **Chambati Milton**, an MDC member, was murdered on 23 December 2001 in Magunje.
20. **Chaparira Abia** died after being tortured by Zanu PF youths and purported war veterans.
21. **Chapuranga Lemani** an MDC activist was shot dead on 19 November 2001 in Marondera West, Mashonaland East.
22. **Chatunga Richard** an MDC activist, died on Sunday 27 January 2002 in Buhera from injuries sustained after being attacked by Zanu PF thugs.
23. **Chibika Tatenda**, an MDC supporter died on 17 April 2008 after a purported war veteran, Richard Makoni shot him at Chibeta Business Centre in Mutoko.
24. **Chipiro Dadirayi** an MDC activist from Chikowore Village in Mhondoro-Ngezi, died on 5 June 2008 after being attacked by Zanu PF youths. They cut off her hands and feet before burning her alive inside her house. A vehicle owned by Bright Matonga, a Zanu PF MP in the constituency was used in the brutal attack.
25. **Chemvura Lameck**, a University of Zimbabwe student, died on 24 November 2001 in Manicaland.
26. **Cheu Shepherd** a headmaster in Mutoko was abducted on 3 June 2008 by a Zanu PF and later found dead with one eye and genitals missing.
27. **Chibvamudeve Nikoniari** an MDC activist was murdered on 21 September 2002 in Mashonaland West.
28. **Chidzidzi Nancy** was shot dead by CIO operatives on 31 May 2008 in Rusape.
29. **Chigaga Chrispen Chimusoro** died on 5 July 2008 after being brutally attacked by Zanu PF members in Mhondoro.
30. **Chigagura Zeke was fatally assaulted by** people chanting Zanu PF slogans at the Kahobo Business Centre and dumped his dead body in front of the house of the MDC candidate's campaign manager.
31. **Chihuri Taurai** was shot by CIO operatives on 31 May 2008 in Mutoko.
32. **Chijeke Chrispen** an MDC supporter died on 20 July 2000 in Gokwe after being assaulted by a Zanu PF mob.
33. **Chiutsi Chrispen** an MDC activist was murdered at his home by armed Zanu PF thugs in Mutoko North on 27 June 2008.
34. **Chitsa Crispin** was assaulted by known Zanu PF youths in Gokwe on 27 April 2000.

35. **Chikomba Simbarashe** – a high school teacher – at Zuka Secondary, Masvingo was abducted by Zanu PF youths on 14 June 2008 and later found dead on 19 June 2008.
36. **Chikova Simba** a teacher was abducted from his school in Zaka by Zanu PF youths and beaten to death on 13 June 2008.
37. **Chimbarara Shemmy** a farm worker died on 8 February 2004 in Chimanimani, Manicaland after being assaulted by Zanu PF youths.
38. **Chikwenya Richard Dzokurasa** an MDC activist died after being assaulted by Zanu PF youths on 1 May 2001 in Buhera, Manicaland province.
39. **Chiminya Tichaona** died on 14 April 2000 near Murambinda Growth Point in Buhera North. The vehicle he was travelling in was petrol bombed by a Zanu PF mob led by a CIO operative Joseph Mwale.
40. **Chiwara Laban** an MDC activist was killed by Zanu PF militia on 7 May 2000 in Harare.
41. **Chingombe Darlington** was beaten to death by Zanu PF militia in Chirumanzu, Midlands South province on 27 June 2008.
42. **Chingozho Sophia** died on 8 June 2008 after she was beaten to death at a funeral by a Zanu PF mob in Buhera North.
43. **Chipiyo Archford** was abducted by State security agents from his father's house in Chitungwiza on 19 June 2008. He was found dead the following morning. His father is the Mayor of Chitungwiza.
44. **Chishamba Morgan**, died after he was attacked by Zanu PF youths in Waterfalls, Harare on 19 June 2008.
45. **Chinyere (Mr)** was pulled out of a bus and beaten to death by Zanu PF militia on 11 June 2000.
46. **Chipungu Benson Karome** was beaten to death by Zanu PF youths at Manyika Village in Uzumba on 10 May 2008.
47. **Chipunza Takundwa Patrick** an MDC activist died on 16 May 2000 in Budiro, Harare after being attacked by Zanu PF supporters.
48. **Chiradza Mark** was beaten to death in Mukumbura, Mashonaland Central province on 5 July 2008 by a Zanu PF mob.
49. **Chirima Robson Tinarwo** an MDC supporter died in March 2000 in Muzarambani, Mashonaland Central province after being assaulted by Zanu PF youths.
50. **Chiriseri Alex** was assaulted by Zanu PF militia and soldiers and died on 5 May 2008 in Centenary, Mashonaland Central province.

51. **Francis Chinozvina**, an MDC activist of Zengeza in Chitungwiza is shot and killed by Zanu PF's Elliot Manyika on 28 March 2004 on the second day of Parliament polling
52. **Chironga Gibbs** an MDC activist was killed by Zanu PF thugs on 20 June 2008 in Chiweshe.
53. **Chironga Hama** was killed by Zanu PF thugs on 20 June 2008 in Chiweshe.
54. **Chiroto Abigail** the wife of Harare Deputy Mayor was abducted and killed by known Zanu PF youths on 19 June 2008 in Hatcliffe, Harare.
55. **Chirozva Phineas** was killed in Buhera on 20 June 2008 by a gang of Zanu PF militia led by one army Col. Mzilikazi.
56. **Chitemere Mhondiwa** an MDC activist was killed in Murehwa South on 30 October 2000.
57. **Chitsungu** – a village headman – was abducted by Zanu PF youths and later found dead in Uzumba on 20 May 2008.
58. **Chihumbiri Eswat** was murdered on 23 March 2001 in Muzarambani, Mashonaland Central.
59. **Chiwara Laban** died on 7 May 2000, Harare after being attacked by Zanu PF militia.
60. **Chiwaura Moffat Soka** an MDC activist was murdered in Bindura in January 2002.
61. **Chisasa Alex** a Zimbabwe Republic Police member was murdered in Chipinge South after being accused of being an MDC supporter.
62. **Chiyoka Jabulani** an MDC councillor was killed in September 2007 in Marondera.
63. **Chokururama Better** an MDC activist was abducted on 13 May 2008 in Murehwa by CIO agents and was found dead with gun and stab wounds on 14 May 2008.
64. **Cobbett Robert Fenwick** was murdered on 6 August 2001, Kwekwe.
65. **Danda Isaac** was stabbed to death by Zanu PF youths led by army Major Moyo at Nembudziya, Gokwe on 8 May 2008.
66. **Dofo Fushirayi** was assaulted to death by Zanu PF youths on 10 May 2008.
67. **Dube Clemence** an MDC polling agent was beaten to death by Zanu PF youths at Poshayi Village in Shurugwi on 28 April 2008.
68. **Dube John** was beaten to death by Zanu PF thugs on 23 June 2008.
69. **Dube Kenias** was abducted and found dead in Masvingo on 19 June 2008.
70. **Dube Michael** died after being assaulted by Zanu PF youths on 1 May 2008 in Shurugwi.
71. **Dube Ngobizitha** an MDC activist died on 1 March 2002 in Nkulamane, Bulawayo.
72. **Dumukani Zondani** died on 9 June 2001 in Mbare, Harare.

73. **Dube Kennedy** was found dead after he had been abducted by Zanu PF youths in Mwenezi on 14 June 2008.
74. **Dunn Allan Stewart** died on 7 May 2000 in Marondera West, Mashonaland East after being assaulted by Zanu PF agents.
75. **Dzenga Livingstone** of Uzumba died after being assaulted by Zanu PF militia in July 2008.
76. **Dzenga Ratidzai** who was pregnant was assaulted and bled to death after Zanu PF militia denied her a chance to seek medical assistance in Muzarabani on 1 April 2008.
77. **Dzokurasa Richard** an MDC activist was murdered on 30 April 2001 in Buhera North.
78. **Elsworth Henry Swan** died on 12 December 2000 in Kwekwe.
79. **Ford Terrance** died on 18 March 2002 in Mhondoro.
80. **Foster Emmanuel** died on 20 January 2003 in Macheke, Mashonaland East.
81. **Gambe Farai** was shot dead by a soldier in Rusape on 15 June 2008.
82. **Gatsi Ernest** an MDC activist was murdered on 19 March 2002 in Guruve, Mashonaland Central.
83. **Gomo Edwin** died on 26 March 2000 in Bindura.
84. **Gomwe R (Mr)** was axed to death by Zanu PF youths led by army Major Moyo in Nembudziya, Gokwe.
85. **Gumure Mafi Tafundikera, 72**, of Village 11 B Eagles' Nest, Headlands was beaten to death by Zanu PF youths on 25 June 2008.
86. **Gumure Aquiline, nee, Sanzvenga, 61**, the MDC Headlands district Women's Assembly leader and wife of the above died on 27 June 2008 after she had sustained head injuries and skull fracture following an attack by Zanu PF youths.
87. **Gundo Daniel** was beaten to death by Zanu PF youths in Gokwe in July 2008.
88. **Pasvani Pamela, nee, Dube** wife of an MDC councillor was burnt to death in house in Harare on 8 June 2008 by Zanu PF youths who were driving a car owned by Zanu PF MP Hubert Nyanhongo.
89. **Mashoko Nyasha**, the child of Pamela (above) was burnt to death together with her mother on 8 June 2008 in Harare.
90. **Guvi Obert** died on 14 September 2000 in Hurungwe West.
91. **Gwaze Tafirenyika** an MDC polling agent at Rukwenjere in Mutoko was murdered on 12 March 2002.

92. **Gwase Nhamo** an MDC youth chairperson for Tayengwa in Murehwa South died at Parirenyatwa Hospital from injuries sustained during an assault by Zanu PF supporters.
93. **Gwenzi Gilson** was killed on 27 July 2001 in Masvingo, Mwenezi.
94. **Hapazari Dumisani** a Zesa employee was abducted by State security agents in Chiredzi and later found dead on 4 June 2008.
95. **Hativagone Owen** was abducted by Zanu PF youths who tortured him by tying bricks to his testicles until he died on 16 May 2008 in Marondera.
96. **Jani Sheppard** an MDC Murehwa constituency 2008 senatorial candidate was abducted at Murehwa growth point by Zanu PF youths and State security agents and later dead on 24 May 2008.
97. **Jeka Petros** an MDC polling agent was murdered in Masvingo North on 4 April 2002.
98. **Jeke Leo** was murdered on 10 June 2000, Chivi South, Masvingo.
99. **Jongwe Learmore** the MDC national spokesperson and Kuwadzana MP was found dead in his prison cell at the Harare Remand Prsion on 22 October 2002.
100. **Jemedze Godfrey** was assaulted to death by soldiers and Zanu PF youths in Mazowe on 9 May 2008.
101. **Jenti Yuana** was abducted from the house of Chitungwiza deputy Mayor, Chipiro by State security agents and found dead on 19 June 2008.
102. **Jerenyama Donald** and MDC polling agent was killed on 25 March 2002 in Mutasa, Manicaland.
103. **Kaguru Tichaona** an MDC activist was murdered by Zanu PF youths on 2 June 2003 in Mbare, Harare.
104. **Kahari Chengera** was shot dead by armed Zanu PF militia at Chireka Village, Bindura South on 11 June 2008.
105. **Kahari Sam** was beaten to death by Zanu PF youths and purported war veterans at Chidembo Village in Shamva on 11 May 2008.
106. **Kamuchira Taurai** of Nyamujamani School in Ward 7 Headlands was murdered by Zanu PF youths on 30 June 2008.
107. **Kamufuto Sairiro** was tortured to death by Zanu PF youths and purported war veterans in Mt. Darwin on 13 May 2008.
108. **Kamutsanga Tichaona** an MDC activist was murdered in Harare North on 5 February 2000.

109. **Kanyemba Bloke** was abducted by Zanu PF's Chipangano gang in Mbare and beaten to death on 5 June 2008.
110. **Kayembe Remember, 23**, was abducted and forced to drink poison leading to his death by Zanu PF supporters in Mazowe On 11 May 2008.
111. **Kanomera John** was murdered by Zanu PF youths on 3 July 2000 in Epworth, Harare.
112. **Kanyurira Luckson** was killed on 25 April 2000 in Kariba after being abducted by a Zanu PF mob which included Rex Chikwana. His body was found at the side of the road with severe injuries sustained during the assault.
113. **Kapfudza Tafirenyika** a headman in UMP was murdered by known Zanu PF thugs, Douglas Mutesa and Costan Musariri on 21 May 2008.
114. **Kareza Howard** an MDC activist was murdered on 13 December 2000, Shamva.
115. **Kareza Peter** an MDC activist was murdered on 23 April 2000 in Shamva.
116. **Kasambarare Mariseni** was murdered by Zanu PF youths on 13 May 2008 in UMP.
117. **Katema Thomas** died on 2 August 2001 in Harare.
118. **Katsamudanga Tichaona** was murdered on 4 April 2002 in Harare.
119. **Katsande Clever** was abducted and beaten to death by Zanu PF militia in Mudzi on 27 April 2008.
120. **Kauzani Godfrey** was abducted by State security agents in Murehwa and was later found dead on 14 May 2008 with gunshot and stab wounds.
121. **Kazemba Alex** died after being assaulted by Zanu PF youths at Dekeya Village in Makoni, Manicaland on 7 July 2008.
122. **Khumalo Khape** an MDC supporter was killed in Mhondoro on 6 February 2002.
123. **Knight Ngoni** was abducted by State security agents from the house of Chitungwiza's deputy Mayor and found dead 19 June 2008.
124. **Kombo Samson** an MDC activist was killed on 20 January 2003 in Makoni East, Manicaland.
125. **Kundishora David** died after being forced to drink poison in Mazowe by army Col. Muchanganya on 7 May 2008.
126. **Kundishora Nyarai** an MDC activist bled to death on 5 May 2008 after being gang raped and vaginal mutilated by Zanu PF militia in Svosve, Marondera East.
127. **Luke John** was abducted and found dead in Gokwe on 19 June 2008.
128. **Lunga Edna** was abducted and later tortured with burnt with plastic by Zanu PF youths until she died on 11 April 2008 in Kwekwe.

129. **Mavhangira Pepukai** was killed by a Zanu PF gang led by army Col. Mzilikazi in Buhera on 20 June 2008.
130. **Mabhoyi Norman** was killed by Zanu PF youths on 28 May 2008 in Uzumba.
131. **Mabika Talent** an MDC activist was murdered in Buhera North on 15 April 2000 by CIO operative Joseph Mwale.
132. **Mabwera Brighton**, 4 years, was burnt to death while sleeping in his parents' home in Uzumba in April 2008.
133. **Machasi Maxwell** was murdered by purported war veterans and Zanu PF youths in Buhera on 6 July 2008.
134. **Machipisa Elliot**, a Zimbabwe Electoral Support Network official was abducted from his house in Hurungwe by Zanu PF youths and found dead on 19 June 2008.
135. **Machiridza Tonderayi** was killed on 18 April 2003 in Kuwadzana, Harare by the police and soldiers.
136. **Madamombe** an MDC activist was shot dead at his home by Zanu PF militia in Bindura on 20 June 2008.
137. **Madamombe Nguwani** was murdered by Zanu PF militia at his Headlands home on 30 June 2008.
138. **Madhobha Tapson** an MDC polling agent was killed on 2 May 2002 at Gokwe Centre.
139. **Madondo Joseph** was killed by Zanu PF youths in Bikita in June 2008.
140. **Madzivanzira Elias** – a headman – of Ward 8 in Shamva North was axed to death by purported war veterans identified as Muroyiwa and Joshua in Shamva on 11 May 2008.
141. **Manzvimbo Fanuel** a farmer in Hwedza was murdered on 16 September 2001.
142. **Mafemeruke Constantine** was killed on 19 June 2000 in Kariba.
143. **Mafukidze Fibion** an MDC councillor was killed on 26 September 2007 in Gutu, Masvingo.
144. **Mafuriro Bright** was tortured to death by Zanu PF youths in Mt Darwin on 15 May 2008.
145. **Magetsi Simba** was abducted by Zanu PF militia and later found dead on 19 June 2008.
146. **Maguwu Itayi** was killed on 27 July 2000 in Dzivarasekwa, Harare.
147. **Mahuni Funny** was killed on 13 March 2002 in Kwekwe.
148. **Majongosi Kudakwashe** was murdered by armed men who were driving an army vehicle in Chirumanzi South on 30 June 2008.

149. **Makanyisa Chris** was killed on 20 June 2008 by a gang led by army Col. Mzilikazi in Buhera.
150. **Makewa Moses** died after being assaulted by Zanu PF youths on 1 April 2008 in Wedza.
151. **Makwanya Tinos** was abducted by Zanu PF militia in Masvingo and later found dead on 19 June 2008.
152. **Manonera John** was killed on 3 July 2001 in Hatfield, Harare.
153. **Mandeya Joseph Ketero** was killed on 17 May 2000 in Mutasa, Manicaland.
154. **Mandindishe Peter** was murdered in Bindura on 22 July 2001.
155. **Mandizha Sandros** of Village 17, Headlands was beaten to death by Zanu PF youths on 25 June 2008.
156. **Manyimo Tennyson** died after he sustained a broken neck after being assaulted by Zanu PF youths on 24 April 2008 in Mbire, Mashonaland Central.
157. **Madzuramhende Tennyson** died after being assaulted by soldiers and Zanu PF militia in Centenary, Mashonaland Central on 5 May 2008.
158. **Manhango Wonder** a member of the MDC campaign team was abducted and tortured on 18 June 2000 by Zanu PF supporters. His assailants included Felix Dube, Levy Calias, Mufundisi Siyakofu, and Tobias Magwatu. The Zanu PF supporters castrated Manhango, broke his legs, "bashed in" his head with a hoe handle, and then dumped him in a ditch. Wonder Manhango died on 26 June 2000 from injuries sustained during the assault.
159. **Manyame Ropafadzo** an MDC supporter was murdered on 6 January 2001 in Bikita West, Masvingo.
160. **Manyara Owen** was killed on 17 March 2002 in Mt Darwin.
161. **Manyeruke Itai** was murdered in Harare on 11 March 2007.
162. **Maposa Richard** was murdered on 20 January 2002 in Bikita East, Masvingo.
163. **Mapingure Atnos** was killed on 20 January 2002 at Jerera growth point, Masvingo.
164. **Mapulanga Kennedy** was abducted and found dead on 14 June 2008 in Mwenezi.
165. **Mapuranga Stanford** was abducted by Zanu PF militia and found dead on 19 June 2008 in Mwenezi, Masvingo.
166. **Mapuranga David Tachiwa** was beaten to death Zanu PF militia led by army majors Cairo Mhandu and Maravadza in Mazowe on 5 May 2008.

167. **Mapurisa Zvidzai** was murdered by Zanu PF militia on 24 April 2008 at Village 21 Gunikuni in Masvingo South who accused him of mobilising people to vote for the MDC in March 2008.
168. **Maramba Rosemary**, who was six months pregnant, was assaulted by Zanu PF youths at Mutawatawata. Her body was later found dumped at Nhakiwa Village in Murehwa on 20 May 2008.
169. **Marangwenda Maxwell** was beaten to death on 5 July 2008 by Zanu PF supporters in Buhera.
170. **Marera**, a teacher, was abducted and beaten to death in Mutoko on 15 April 2008.
171. **Mashaka Godfrey** was abducted by Zanu PF militia led by Beauty Kunaka and Forbes Mhembere in Mhondoro and beaten to death at Gudo business centre.
172. **Marufu Doreen** a MDC pregnant activist was stoned to death by Zanu PF supporters at Chiweshe Business Centre in Mazowe on 2 May 2000.
173. **Marume Thabitha** was shot dead by State security agents at Chiwetu Rest Camp in Makoni West on 25 April 2008.
174. **Mashinga Anthony** date unknown was killed in Goromonzi.
175. **Masango Molly** date unknown died in Murehwa.
176. **Masuka Albert** was killed on 20 June 2008 by a gang led by army Col. Mzilikazi in Buhera.
177. **Matanda Taurai** was shot by soldiers at Murambinda growth point in Buhera on 24 May 2008.
178. **Mataruse Peter** was murdered in March 2001 in Mashonaland Central.
179. **Matema Hilary** was tortured to death by members of the Police Internal Service Intelligence in Guruve on 15 January 2001.
180. **Matinyarare David** was killed on 1 May 2003 in Mufakose, Harare.
181. **Matombo Arthur** was beaten to death in Mazowe on 5 May 2008 by army major Cairo Mhandu and Maravadza.
182. **Matonganhau Patricia** was killed by Zanu PF supporters in Mutoko on 20 May 2008.
183. **Matope Kenneth** was killed on 13 January 2002 in Guruve, Mashonaland Central.
184. **Matyatya** was murdered on 27 June 2000 in Gweru.
185. **Mazambara Maribha** was killed by Zanu PF youths in Bikita in June 2008.
186. **Mazava Felix** was abducted and killed on 11 September 2001 in Chikomba, Mashonaland East.

187. **Mbano Chrison** died after a group of soldiers petrol-bombed MDC offices in Zaka on 4 June 2008.
188. **Mbewe Samson** was killed in Goromonzi on 9 August 2000.
189. **Mbwanda Tapiwa**, 57, was stabbed to death in Hurungwe East on 5 April 2008. He left behind a wife and three children. Jawet Kazangare and an army Private Peter Madamombe were identified as his killers.
190. **Meda Tapiwa** was beaten to death by Zanu PF youths on 5 May 2008 in Centenary, Mashonaland Central.
191. **Meza Tafadzwa** was shot and wounded by soldiers then followed up and killed by a CIO agent, Sydney Shomweyi in Mudzi on 1 June 2008.
192. **Mhete Leonard** was murdered by Zanu PF thugs at Chigumisirwa Village, Bikita East on 9 June 2008.
193. **Midzi Trymore** was murdered by police officers on 23 December 2001 in Bindura.
194. **Majoni Simwanja** was killed on 15 January 2002 in Kwekwe.
195. **Moyo Henry** was killed on 7 January 2002 in Masvingo.
196. **Moyo Tiziro** – teacher – was murdered by Zanu PF supporters in Mwenezi on 11 June 2008.
197. **Moyounotsva Amos** was murdered by Zanu PF supporters in Chitungwiza on 2 July 2008.
198. **Mpofu Muchenje** was murdered by Zanu PF supporters on 19 January 2002 in Mberengwa East.
199. **Mteta Kingswell** a police officer died on 24 July 2008 after being beaten by Zanu PF militia in Mudzi where he had gone to pay his mother a visit.
200. **Mtetwa Davis** was murdered on 27 April 2002 in Zengeza, Chitungwiza.
201. **Mtombeni** was abducted in Masvingo and found dead on 19 June 2008.
202. **Mubaira Phaniel** of Mt Darwin died after being assaulted by Zanu PF militia on 19 May 2008.
203. **Mubango Choukuse Nyoka** was axed to death by Zanu PF supporters who were using a truck owned by self-styled war veteran Joseph Chinotimba in Buhera on 17 May 2008.
204. **Mudzuramhende Patson** was beaten to death in Mazowe on 5 May 2008 by Zanu PF militia led by army Major Cairo Mhandu and Major Maravadza.
205. **Mudzimuirema Cosamu** was murdered on 16 July 2002 in Buhera South.

206. **Mudzingwa Mabiko** was attacked at Chigumisirwa Village, Bikita East by Zanu PF youths and died from injuries sustained on 9 June 2008.
207. **Mugauri Runyararo** the MDC youth secretary for Mazowe district died at a Harare hospital on 14 August 2008 from injuries sustained after being severely attacked by Zanu PF youths.
208. **Mukaiwa Gloria** was heavily assaulted by Zanu PF youths leading to her death on 17 May 2008 in Centenary.
209. **Mukakarei Tabudamu** was killed on 14 February 2002 in Masvingo.
210. **Mukadyata Zava** of Masvingo. Date Unknown.
211. **Mukova Rodrick** died after being assaulted by Zanu PF hooligans at Chimudzi Village in Mwenezi, Masvingo North on 11 June 2008.
212. **Mugudoki Rodrick** a farm worker was hacked to death by Zanu PF youths in Chikomba on 6 December 2001.
213. **Mungazi Victor** the MDC Hurungwe district secretary for elections was abducted by Zanu PF youths at Magunje growth point and found dead on 15 June 2008.
214. **Mukweli Vusimusi** was murdered on 9 September 2001 in Gokwe South.
215. **Munyaradzi** a farm worker was murdered on 14 February 2002 in Marondera East.
216. **Mundandishe Peter** was killed on 22 July 2001 in Bindura.
217. **Mupawaenda Tatukwa Mamhova** was killed on 16 February 2002 in Zvimba South, Mashonaland West.
218. **Mupesa Ndonga** was killed on 30 March 2001 in Muzarabani.
219. **Murunde Tembo** was killed by a Zanu PF gang led by Newton Kachepa in Mudzi on 15 April 2008. They broke his legs and he died on his way to hospital.
220. **Musafara Mudimu** was beaten to death by Zanu PF youths at Manyika Village in Uzumba on 10 May 2008.
221. **Mushaya Mationa**, a village head, was beaten to death by Zanu PF militia on 17 May 2000 in Mutoko. The assailants were identified as Enock Kuchiva, Nyepanayi Chipuriro, Rise Chifondya, Garikai Gumbedze, Andrew Chipamando, Taurayi Nhari, Macheka Chingwena, and Lazarus Chifodya.
222. **Mushaya Onias** was murdered on 17 May 2000 in Mutoko. The assailants were identified as Enock Kuchiva, Nyepanayi Chipuriro, Rise Chifondya, Garikai Gumbedze, Andrew Chipamando, Taurayi Nhari, Macheka Chingwena, and Lazarus Chifodya.
223. **Mushaike Munoda** died after being attacked by Zanu PF youths in Guruve on 2 July 2008.

224. **Mushayahembe Ruth** was beaten to death by Zanu PF youths on 10 May 2008 at Chimbwanda Village in Uzumba.
225. **Mushonga Delite** died after being assaulted by Zanu PF youths on 11 June 2008 in Epworth, Harare.
226. **Musekiwa Nhamo** died on 24 October 2007 at a hospital in Johannesburg, SA.
227. **Musiwa Lewis** died from injuries sustained after being assaulted by Zanu PF militia in Chiweshe on 30 June 2008.
228. **Musoni Robert** died on 26 March 2000 in Chiweshe.
229. **Mutadza Gwindiri** died on 7 July 2008 in Mudzi West.
230. **Mutemaringa Fungisai** died on 27 January 2002 in Murehwa.
231. **Mutewe Reuben** was killed by army paratroopers identified as Patrick Chimbare, Enos Chimbare and Funny Mambare in Buhera on 12 July 2008.
232. **Muteta Kingswell** a ZRP officer was murdered by Zanu PF youths on 25 June 2008 in Mutoko. He had visited his mother when a Zanu PF mob accused him of being an MDC activist before assaulting him to death.
233. **Mutsvungunu Gift's** heavily tortured body was found on 12 July 2008 in Kuwadzana, Harare after he had been abducted by unidentified men in police uniform.
234. **Mutyanda Mandishona** an MDC activist was murdered on 29 June 2000.
235. **Muza Sage** died after being assaulted by police at Hoyuyu in Mutoko on 8 May 2008.
236. **Muzenda Tawanda Muchenei** died in 2002 in Masvingo.
237. **Muzondiwa Takawira** died after Zanu PF supporters attacked him at his home in Mberengwa on 5 July 2008.
238. **Mwanza Misheck** died on 4 May 2001 in Zvimba.
239. **Mwaripa Svikai** of Masvingo died in 2002.
240. **Ngamira Genus** an MDC activist was murdered on 5 May 2002 in Bindura, Mashonaland Central.
241. **Nyamukada Manyuke**, 40, of Manyika Village in Uzumba died at Gelfand Hospital in Harare on 24 May 2008 after he had been brutal assaulted by Zanu PF supporters on 22 May 20008. His homestead was also razed to the ground.
242. **Catherine Makwenjere** of Mwenezi died on 29 April 2008 at Morgenster Hospital in Masvingo after Zanu PF supporters had assaulted her accusing her of voting for the MDC.
243. **Ncube Richard** died on 18 July 2002 in Zhombe, Midlands.
244. **Ncube Sambani** died on 17 March 2002, in Hwange.

245. **Ncube Mthokozisi** died on 26 January 2002 in Pelandaba, Bulawayo.
246. **Ndahwi Manomano** was beaten to death by Zanu PF youths on 28 June 2008.
247. **Ndira Tonderai** was abducted from his Mabvuku home in Harare by armed State security agents on 4 June 2008 and was found dead on 15 June 2008 in Goromonzi. He had gunshot and stab wounds.
248. **Ngowani Hama** died from injuries sustained after being assaulted by Zanu PF militia on 30 June 2008.
249. **Ngundu Sheppard** was murdered on 5 February 2002 in Mt Darwin, Mashonaland Central.
250. **Ngwerume Edson** died after the offices the MDC that he was guarding were petrol bombed by men in army uniforms.
251. **Nhende Daniel** died after being abducted and assaulted by Zanu PF youths in Epworth on 8 June 2008.
252. **Nheya Titus** an MDC activist died on December 2001 in Hurungwe West
253. **Nhitsa Takesure** an MDC activist died on 20 February 2002.
254. **Nyadedzi Action** who was abducted by Zanu PF youths was found dead on 20 May 2008.
255. **Nelson Emmanuel** was stabbed to death on 4 May 2002 by Zanu PF youths at Hopley Farm, Harare South and died in hospital on 9 May 2008.
256. **Nyamupfungwe Emmanuel** was beaten to death by Zanu PF youths led by army Col. Mzilikazi on 20 June 2008 in Buhera.
257. **Nemaire Solomon** died on 23 January 2002 in Makoni, Manicaland.
258. **Neshamba Joshua** died after his testicles were tied to bricks in June 2008 by army Col. Mangachena at Neshamba Village, Marondera West.
259. **Daniel Nhende** of Epworth was attacked by a group of Zanu PF supporters on 5 June 2008 who accused him of supporting and voting for the MDC.
260. **Nyamwa Washington** was killed after the MDC offices he and three others were in at Jerera Growth Point in Zaka were petrol bombed by men driving an army truck on 3 June 2008.
261. **Nyevhe Cain** was found dead on 14 May 2008 in Goromonzi district after he had been abducted by State security agents in Murehwa. Nyevhe had gun and stab wounds.
262. **Nyagupe Gilbert** a well-known MDC activist from Nyagupe Village in Kotwa, Mudzi was axed to death by Zanu PF youth militia and one of them was identified as Jessie Nhau.

263. **Nyambirai Winnie** of Guruve, Mashonaland Central was killed on 18 May 2001.
264. **Nyandoro Gibson** of Epworth was abducted and his body found dumped in a dam in Norton in May 2008.
265. **Nyamukapa Manyuke** was abducted by Zanu PF youths and later found dead in Uzumba on 20 May 2008.
266. **Nyika James** died in an arson attack after a group soldiers petrol-bombed MDC offices that he was sleeping in at Jerera Growth Point in Zaka, Masvingo on 4 June 2008.
267. **Nyika Rambanapasi** an MDC activist died on 24 December 2001 after his head was smashed by a Zanu PF supporter who was using a blunt object.
268. **Olds Martin** a commercial farmer was murdered on 15 April 2000 in Nyamandhlovu, Matebeleland by war veterans.
269. **Pfebve Matthew** was murdered by Zanu PF youths on 30 April 2000 in Mt Darwin. The cause of death was “massive brain injury from trauma, laceration of the right lung, and assault.” The hit squad, formed at a meeting chaired by the Zanu PF candidate—Border Gezi—included John Karikoga, Shepherd Kararira, M. Mapundu, W. Mapundu, C. Kavaranje, and P. Pfudza.
270. **Pilosi Simon** was murdered on 26 March 2002 in Zvimba by Zanu PF youths.
271. **Phiri Francis** was beaten to death by Zanu PF youths in July 2008 in Mashava.
272. **Romio Edwin** an MDC polling agent was beaten to death in March 2000 by Zanu PF youths in Mutoko.
273. **Rukara Kufa** was murdered on 19 November 2001 in Silobela, Midlands North province.
274. **Runzirwai Irene** an MDC activist from Bindura died from injuries sustained after she was attacked by Zanu PF youths on 7 July 2008.
275. **Rukuni Thadeus** an MDC parliamentary candidate was beaten to death in Bikita East on 29 May 2000.
276. **Sabira Trymore** was killed by a Zanu PF gang led by Col. Mzilikazi on 20 June 2008 in Buhera.
277. **Sibanda Dickson** was murdered by armed war veterans on 3 July 2008.
278. **Sibanda James** was murdered in Nkayi, Matebeleland North in February 2002.
279. **Sibindi Halaza** was killed on 30 January 2002 in Tsholotsho, Matebeleland North
280. **Sibindi Joseph** was killed on 29 January 2002 in Bulawayo.
281. **Sicwe Jameson** was killed by war veterans on 29 January 2002 in Lupane, Matebeland North.

282. **Sikhucha Ravengai** died on 10 November 2001 in Mberengwa East.
283. **Singende** was abducted from his home in Gutu by Zanu PF militia and taken to their base, where his testicles were tortured until he died on 21 June 2008.
284. **Stevens David** a commercial farmer was murdered in Macheke in April 2000.
285. **Sanyamahwe Kuziva** was murdered on 18 January 2002 in Murehwa South.
286. **Sibanda Charles** an MDC activist died on 2 March 2002 in Zhombe, Midlands.
287. **Sibindi Joseph** an MDC activist died in January 2002.
288. **Sigauke Charles** was murdered by Brighton Muchuwa a Zanu PF thug in Chimanimani on 24 December 2007.
289. **Sikucha Ravengai** an MDC supporter was killed 10 November 2001 in Mberengwa East, Midlands.
290. **Tadyanemhandu Tichaona** was killed on 20 June 2000 in Hurungwe East.
291. **Taero Crispen** was assaulted to death by the CIO agents and Zanu PF supporters in April 2008.
292. **Takaendesa Clement** was shot dead on 25 October 2007 in Kwekwe.
293. **Tandare Gift** was shot dead by the police on 11 March 2007 at Zimbabwe Grounds in Highfield, Harare.
294. **Tapera Wiseman** was beaten to death by Zanu PF supporters in Mutoko on 8 April 2008.
295. **Tawengwa Gift** was beaten to death by Zanu PF militia in Chiweshe on 30 June 2008.
296. **Tawengwa Gibbs** brother to Gift also died from injuries sustained after being attacked by Zanu PF militia in Chiweshe on 30 June 2008.
297. **Tembedza Martha** died on 23 August 2008 after being assaulted by Zanu PF youths in Marondera.
298. **Tongodiwa Maxwell Magoche** of Chibero in Mashonaland West died from injuries sustained after being attacked by Zanu PF militia in June 2008.
299. **Tonera Stephen** an MDC activist was murdered by Zanu PF youths on 20 March 2003 in Seke.
300. **Vhekavheka Darlington** MDC activist killed in Marondera on 15 March 2002.
301. **White Fanuel** an MDC polling agent was murdered in Guruve on 29 March 2002.
302. **Zaya Edson** was assaulted by Zanu PF youths and purported war veterans in Shamva and died on 16 May 2008.
303. **Zhou Fainos Kufazvinei** died after being tortured at Texas Farm in Mberengwa on 10 June 2000 in Mberengwa East by Zanu PF's Biggie Chitoro.

304. **Zhuwawo Bigboy** was abducted and murdered by Zanu PF militia led by Chief Chisekete in Muzarabani on 27 April 2008.
305. **Zindomba Taurai** died after he was attacked and his intestines pulled out by Zanu PF supporters in Makoni on 27 June 2008.
306. **Ziome Fungisai** was found dead on 23 July 2008 after she had been abducted by Zanu PF supporters in Glendale.
307. **Ziweni Osborn** was shot and killed on 18 August 2001 in Bikita West.
308. **Zireni Tonderai**, 3 years old, was burnt to death after Zanu PF youths torched his parent's home in Zimunya, Mutare on 8 May 2008.
309. **Zihwihwi Francis** councillor for Ward 23 in Chiwara, Gutu was shot dead by retired major Oscar Madombwe, the husband of Zanu PF's Shuvai Mahofa in Gutu, Masvingo on 21 June 2008. Mahofa is the Zanu PF losing parliamentary candidate for Gutu South in the March 2008 elections.
310. **Ziyengwa Robert** an MDC ward chair was beaten to death by Zanu PF youths in Headlands on 25 June 2008.
311. **Ziyengwa Jessica** was beaten to death together with her husband above on 25 June 2008 in Headlands.
312. **Zvavamwe Kidwell** was beaten to death by Zanu PF youths at his home in Shamva on 27 May 2008. He was attacked in front of his wife Lucia Mukaru and their three children.
313. **Zvidzai Mirai** was murdered by Zanu PF supporters on 11 June 2008 in Masvingo.
314. **Zinatha Tazvishaya** of Ward 18 Gutu East in Masvingo died at Parirenyatwa Hospital in Harare on 2 June 2009 from injuries sustained in June 2008 when he was attacked by Zanu PF hooligans.
315. **Edwin Chingami, 32**, an MDC election observer in the 2008 elections was murdered on 29 August 2009 at a funeral in Ward 8, Chirove Village in Bikita West, Masvingo Province.
316. **Chrispen Mandizvidza, 32**, An MDC activist died at the Avenues Clinci after succumbing to injuries he sustained when he was assaulted by Zanu PF hooligans at a Copac outreach meeting at Mai Musodzi Hall in Mbare on 19 September 2010.
317. **Anna Mubayiwa,**
318. **Innocent Muzuva,**
319. **Alex Magunda,**
320. **Loveless Sango**

321. **Connie Taruvinga**, the five MDC Chitungwiza provincial members die on different dates after being involved in accident on 11 September 2010 on their way from the MDC 11th Anniversary celebrations at Gokwe Centre.
322. **Rwisai Nyakauru, 82**, a kraal head in Nyanga died on 16 April 2011 from chest pains. He was arrested on 13 February and was incarcerated for three weeks at Mutare Remand Prison on violence charges. On his release his health did not improve.
323. Shepherd Bandau, an MDC branch treasurer in Mbare, Harare was murdered on Friday, 10 February 2012 by known Zanu PF youths operating under the notorious Chipangano wing.

The list of the victims of violence is longer than this. We also remember and salute the over 20 000 innocent people murdered in the Matabeleland and Midlands provinces by the Korean-trained 5th Brigade in what is infamously known as *Gukurahundi*. Never again should a government be allowed to unleash a reign of terror on innocent citizens. Never again!!!